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THE

WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE,

BART.

COMPLETE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR,

CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. II.

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SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S

FIRST EMBASSY AT THE HAGUE.

BEGUN AUGUST 1668.

To the Elector of Mentz.

Hague, Aug. 31,
Sir, N. S. 1668.

I DID not receive the honour of your Highness's letter till some time after my arrival in England, with the inclosed for the King my master, which he received with that esteem his Majesty always bears to what comes from your Highness: and having promised me an answer upon my return for Holland, which has been put off from day to day, I have deferred my particular acknowledgments to your Highness till I could value them by the honour of accompanying a letter from his Majesty. I send it now inclosed; and desire your Highness to believe, that I resent as I ought the honour you have done me; and that I will preserve your Highness's letter among the greatest marks of honour to my family; and shall not fail upon all occasions to shew how much I shall cherish the title I pretend to with so

A l'Electeur de Mayence.

A la Haye, le 31 Août,
Monsieur, S. N. 1668.

La lettre dont V. A. m'a honoré, & qui est datée du 14 de Mai, ne m'a été rendue que quelques jours après mon arrivée en Angleterre; avec elle j'ay reçû l'envelopé pour le Roy mon maître, que je luy ay porté, & qu'il a reçû avec les mêmes marques d'estime que sa Majesté a toujours fait paroître pour tout ce qui vient de la part de V. A. le Roy m'ayant promis la reponse pour le tems de mon retour en Hollande, qui a toujours trainé de jour en jour; j'ay differé de marquer à V. A. ma reconnoissance en particulier, jusqu'à ce que j'eusse l'honneur d'être porteur d'une lettre de sa Majesté. Je l'envoye à cette heure, & je supplie V. A. de croire que je ressens comme je le dois l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait, & que je conserveray sa lettre, & la conteray parmi les titres & les honneurs qui élevent la gloire de ma fa-

much justice, of being, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

mille. Je ne laisseray échaper aucune occasion de temoigner combien je cheris & cheriray toujours la qualité que je prens avec tant de justice de, Monsieur, de V. A. &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 7, N. S. 1668.

SINCE my last I have not stirred out, but had the favour of several visits in my chamber; among the rest, one from Monsieur Meerman on Wednesday, and one of three hours from Monsieur de Witt yesterday. I fell into talk with the first upon the matter of the Guiney Company; who said my Lord Holles, and, as I remember, Mr. Secretary Morris, had spoken of it to him before; but only given him a general relation, upon which he could not sufficiently inform the States: that they had likewise mentioned some other parts of the marine treaty, by which the East-India Company thought themselves aggrieved, but remembered nothing particular besides the form of passports, in which we might receive what satisfaction we pleased; and the better definition of what was meant by *a town invested.* I told him, the business of Guiney was distinct from any thing of the marine treaty (though he was unwilling to understand it so); that I was very little instructed in the first, because his Majesty's commands in that point were only to procure the reference of it to commissioners for the proposing rules by which both Companies should proceed, and thereby preventing the said Companies acting wholly by rules and officers of their own, which had been the first occasions of the unhappy disputes between us, and might possibly prove so again. For the marine treaty, I told him I had yet no instructions

upon that subject, but might have in a little time; and thereupon took occasion of discoursing to him at large the whole business of commerce between us, and the necessity of giving us some reason and ease in those matters; upon which though he seemed a little staunch, as his complexion is, and jealous of our great growth in trade, by a more parsimonious and industrious genius among us of late, than had formerly been; yet I found, what I said had impression on him: for he parted with great professions of contributing all he could towards the success of all negotiations between us; and went that night to communicate all to Monsieur de Witt, as I found by our conference next day. It began with his having perused my papers about the Guiney Company; upon which he desired to know if I had no other information than those gave me: for by those, the matter seemed favourable to them, by the letters of their director being particular, and with relation to time, and to the articles of the Breda treaty, by which the new settlements there were to be governed; whereas what concerned our pretensions was contained only in some loose examinations concerning possession or not possession formerly by one or the other, without any reference to the constitutions made by the Breda treaty, and without mentioning in any direct terms what it was we complained of, or what we desired.

The truth is, all the papers concerning that matter, remitted to me by Mr. Secretary Morris, were only the Guiney Company's petition, the examination of Mr. Thomas Crisp, Captain Merbrooke, and Mr. Be'ois, with a letter and protest of the director of the Dutch West-India Company. I excused my being so little informed, upon the reasons I had alledged to Monsieur Meerman, and pressed in the same manner the reference of it to

commissioners. He allowed his Majesty's consideration of preventing the two Companies proceeding by rules or executions of their own, to be very prudent and necessary; and that he knew the States would second his Majesty's good intention in it: and that when he could find the matter of fact and right but alledged in distinct testimonies of known persons, he doubted not but he should easily find a composure for all these disputes, and agree upon a constant *réglement* hereafter. And to this purpose he would send immediately to enquire among the officers of their Company for any papers that may have been remitted to them from our officers to theirs in Guiney; for he could not believe but that letter and protest of their director had either been occasioned by some precedent letters or demands from some officers of ours, or at least followed by some answers, in which our demands and rights were asserted, as those of the Dutch were in those papers of their director. I answered all, by insisting upon commissioners according to my instruction, and argued its being a matter much more proper for such to debate and determine, as understood the coasts, situations, manner of trade in those parts, former possessions, and matters of fact past, than for him and me, how willing soever we should be to inform ourselves, or to find expedients; and went so far upon this subject, that he seemed inclined it should be so; at least when the pretensions were stated, so as it might appear what was to be referred to such commissioners. But upon this he fell into the discourse of what Monsieur Meerman had told him, or I had formerly written to him, concerning some exceptions to the marine treaty; and how willing the States would be to alter the form of passports, when they knew how we desired it; and if the King wished any more particular definition of

what should be esteemed *a town invested*, he did not doubt we might agree upon that too; having found me always to propose only what I thought reasonable, and to agree to what I found so; and he was made after the same manner, and so I should always find him. I easily perceived, that the thing he would be at, was, upon occasion of this Guiney matter, to know at once the bottom of all we pretended, in point of regulating commerce between us, having, I presume, heard more than was need perhaps, of all the noise made by the East-India Company upon the subject of the marine treaty, or by their patrons, either out of zeal to the good of our commerce, or out of envy at the success of so great a counsel and conduct of his Majesty, in which they had no hand, and upon which if we had lost a little in trade by changing the form of the articles at Breda into a marine treaty (wherein I do not conceive how we lost at all), yet I am sure it was infinitely recompensed by the necessity, the unexpected success, and the great consequences of those other alliances, to which that circumstance of the marine treaty was made, I thought, but a sacrifice of smoke. And this I could not but say for his Majesty's satisfaction, and your Lordship's vindication, with those other Ministers by whose advice that counsel was taken and pursued, finding every day more how highly it is applauded abroad, while it is maliced by some, and so little esteemed by others, at home; though his Majesty has reaped already from it both the whole honour of giving peace to Christendom, and perhaps the only safety of his own kingdoms, considering the conjunctures in which that counsel found us.

But to return to my conference with Monsieur de Witt: finding him lead me so industriously into a field wherein I had no intention to enter, I re-

solved however to take the occasion, and once for all to say all I had thought, or your Lordship had infused into me, upon that subject. And so I told him plainly, that I was not yet instructed in that matter of our exceptions to the marine treaty, but believed I might be in a little time; that the particulars he mentioned were complained of in the treaty itself, and other things thought to be admitted, but that I could not enter into any particulars till I had instructions; but since he gave me the occasion, I would enter once for all into the general. I discoursed over to him the common interest, and indeed necessity, of preserving perpetual the present alliances between us, especially on their side, while the dangers were so great from the ambition and power, as well as neighbourhood, of France; the great overtures would now be made us from thence to the prejudice of this alliance, and at all other times, whenever they could hope we were ready to receive them; that though I could give him no jealousy of them now, but on the contrary assure him he might be at ease on that side, and that the King would only have the honour by it of setting them an example of his sincereness and constancy, which he would expect they should follow when the game begun with *them*, as it would after it ended with *him;* yet I would tell him, that France was at all times capable of making us such offers, and of giving us our present account so well, though in exchange perhaps of danger to come (in case of no new revolutions) that whenever there should be in England a Prince less direct, or less foreseeing, than his Majesty; or either a weak or corruptible Ministry, I could not answer what measures we should take: that, upon this ground, I thought they could not do wiser than to root this alliance in the very hearts of the people, and current genius of the na-

tion, and not rely wholly upon the present inclinations or judgment of his Majesty, or the dispositions of the Ministers; for if there were any thing that lay cross to it in the common interest or humour of the people, it would be upon all occasions breaking out to disturb it, and whenever *that* should concur with the dispositions of the Prince, they would be able to make a great noise in the world. I told him, that many persons in England, either to make way for the French alliance by weakening or breaking this, or else perhaps to discredit the most applauded counsels of the present Ministry, had made a noise about the marine treaty as if it had been a ruining the nation, and from thence took occasion to infuse into all people as far as they could, that we should never find any fairness, or directness, or equality, in all we treated with the Dutch; but subtility, and hardship, and injustice, and, when the occasion was, obstinacy and injury, in all matters of commerce between us; while we gave them reason to believe we thought their friendship necessary, or very convenient to us. That I had, ever since I knew him, maintained the contrary to his Majesty, assured him of the sincerity I had found in their proceedings, and been always made confidently believe by them, that his Majesty should find them ever reasonable and easy in what should be offered in reducing matters of commerce to an equality, and to be reciprocal between us. That it was a small matter, that all my credit, and perhaps fortune, lay at stake upon their making this good: but I was sure it was considerable that the very safety of our alliance might at one time or other come to lie at stake upon it too. And therefore, for my part, I thought they could not do in the world a wiser thing, than to give us all reasonable satisfaction in these points, by consenting to any *ré-*

glements of commerce which might import equality, and be reciprocal between us. That any equality itself would be the same advantage to them, that a long arm against a short would be between two men with equal swords; for considering their parsimony, industry, necessity of turning all their stock to trade for want of land, and multitude of people; and on the other side, our native luxury, want of order or application, and our extent and cheapness of land, and ease of taxes, which made people chuse to turn their money that way; they could never fail of advantage enough in any equality, and upon it would find the surest, the most commodious ally, and the best able to protect them that they could have in the world, being without any ambition or designs among our neighbours, farther than to keep the balance of Christendom; and yet, on the other side, the only power that was feared by France, and that were able, in conjunction of our fleets with theirs, to awe them, by what they might suffer from sea, into some consideration of what was fit for them to act at land.

During this discourse, which I enlarged the most I could to the purpose, resolving to bend all my force upon the effect of it, I found Monsieur de Witt very attentive, and willing to let me go on, with marks in his countenance of relishing, and, as I thought, approving what I said; which made me resolve to go yet one point farther, and to the root of all that could spring into any jealousies between us. I told him, it was true, that there wanted not some among us that would be so wise to know, that it was impossible for us ever to fall into any firm confidence with the States upon their present constitution, nor particularly with him, upon the Prince of Orange's occasion: that for my part, I was not at all of that mind: that though the King

could not lose the affection he had for his nephew, yet he was of opinion he could not express it better than by infusing into him the belief, that he could make himself no way so happy as in the good will of the States, and trusting wholly to them in the course of his fortunes, and not to private factions, or foreign intrigues and applications. That his Majesty was of an opinion himself, that Princes were not apt to do themselves more hurt, and make themselves less, any way than by affecting too much power, or such as was directly contrary to the stomach and genius of the country which fell to their share: and besides this, I knew his Majesty was so just and so reasonable, that though he should take kindly of the States any respects they should shew his nephew, yet I did not believe he would offer that to any other King or State, which he should not take well that any other should offer to him; and I did not believe he would ever be put upon any such designs by his council, or his people's inclinations. For they who looked upon the Prince in a possibility of one day coming to be their King, and that loved a Prince who grounded his power in the affections of his people and loved to rule by laws, had rather perhaps see the Prince of Orange happy in the good will of the States, and such moderate power as they should think consistent with their government, than of a humour that aims at any thing that might tend to subvert their civil constitutions: so that I saw nothing of danger to them upon this chapter, either from the judgment and disposition of his Majesty, or the humour of the nation: but was confident, in case we could agree upon matters of commerce, nothing could ever intervene to break an alliance that was so useful to ourselves, and all Christendom besides. And so I left it with him.

Upon this discourse, Monsieur de Witt with very

great signs of satisfaction told me, that all I said was reasonable, that he agreed with me perfectly in it: and upon that, said a great deal of the sympathy he had ever observed between us, and how easy that would ever make any thing we should fall in treaty of. That he knew from Monsieur Meerman, I had been the occasion of giving him any credit in England of an honest sincere man, and he would never lose mine upon that occasion by giving the King cause to believe other of him. That he confessed he had often told me, that the States would ever be contented with an equality with us in point of trade; and that, provided they might know what it was we would be at, and that we proposed nothing but what was equal and reciprocal between us; he would give me his hand (as he did) that he would use all his endeavours to give us satisfaction in it; and he thought he knew the minds of the States so well, that he durst almost promise it me in their names by advance, and without knowing what it was. That for any thing amiss in the marine treaty, he did not see how any complaint could be made of what I had done in it; but that the Ambassadors at Breda ought to answer for that, if there were any thing ill in it, ours being but word for word the same with theirs, and both parties consent being necessary to alter what was then provisional, as what is now more formally established. That, for the form of the passports, let me but bring one drawn up as we desire it, and in terms current with the forms of their State, and it shall be immediately agreed to. That, for defining what towns shall be said to be besieged, he is very willing that should be done too, since it imports the same for one as the other: and even for any other matters that were thought necessary to be added to the marine treaty, since nothing else was desired to be altered, if his Ma-

jesty would instruct me fully in all points, and that they proved, as I said, equal and reciprocal, he would once more undertake we should agree upon them, and desired me to assure his Majesty so much; and he thought, the sooner I was instructed in it, the better: but desired that no use might be made of this, to encourage either the East-India Company, or others, to make new exceptions or demands, but only I might be instructed in those which had been made already: and that, I said, I durst promise him, for they had been already digested before the council. From this, he fell to discourse of our alliance, and the considerations we had to strengthen and continue it; and how much he was pleased with what I said of the King's resolution upon that point, of his shewing them an example of constancy, and that I could never doubt their following it. And among other things said, the States had sucked that in like milk, which was already passed into the very flesh and substance of their body: and we might be the more confident of it, since the Minister they employed in France, and through whose hands all such matters must pass, and be represented to the States by the lights he should give them, was as firm and earnest upon it as any man could be: that he knew France would try them as well as us, and would not say but they might possibly gain some one of the little provinces; but for Holland in particular, and the provinces in general, it was not a thing to be thought on. From this he fell to speak of the Prince of Orange; and seemed very much pleased with what I had said on that subject, both of the King's dispositions, and the people's humours and thoughts, especially that of the King, of doing as he would be done by: he said, the States' intentions were to make him Captain-General of their forces, and Admiral too, though it was not men-

tioned; and to this purpose they would already have brought him into the council of state in order to fit him for those charges, had it not been for some of the provinces that had hindered it upon pretence of more kindness to him, and designing greater matters for him. That it was indeed agreed those charges were inconsistent with that of Stadtholder, which gave as much authority in the civil, as the others in the military part of the government. That, considering the smallness of their state, and greatness of their milice, there was an end of their republic, when both was in one hand. That for his part, if he had been born under a King, he could never have consented to what his ancestors did towards the King of Spain; but being born under a commonwealth, and sworn to maintain it, he could consent to nothing that should destroy it; and he wondered how it had subsisted so long in that danger; which was to be attributed to their constant wars abroad, and to the great moderation of those Princes among whom none had thoughts of it but the last; nor would he ever have fallen into them without having been put upon them by the French, who had his breeding and his conversation. That, if he had lived, he would have been the ablest of all the race; and from thence fell into commendations of this young Prince's parts and dispositions: and so this matter ended.

For the business of Spain, he was scandalized, as well as your Lordship, at that Queen's slight answer, and pleased with his Majesty's letter upon it. He said, the talk of Don John's coming began to renew; and that in the mean time the Marquis neither answered upon the Swedish subsidies, nor pressed them upon the guaranty, because they had refused to give it without the compliance of Spain in the other point. I pursued that no far-

ther, having not yet heard from the Marquis, nor from the Spanish Ambassador here upon it. The treaty between the Emperor and Sweden is not yet ratified, upon a disagreement in the private article about money to be furnished them by the Emperor, who stands upon giving but one hundred and eleven thousand dollars a year, upon some calculations made by some certain quota's upon the several parts of the empire; and the Swedes demanding one hundred and fifty thousand: which would make one imagine the Spaniards had not one of their five senses left, to hazard or delay, for such a sum, a treaty wherein your Lordship will observe a particular clause, leaving room for Spain to enter into it as they please.

While I am writing, I receive this inclosed from the Swedish Envoy here, by which you will see how unhappily a poor Ambassador is *embarrassé* by the ceremonies that hinder him from seeing those that have so much mind to it, and with whom he must have so much to do. What expedients I shall find hereafter, I know not yet, but shall let him know, that being *incognito* till my entry, *& ne faisant pas l'Ambassadeur*, if he pleases to come, and be content that as *incognito* I neither receive nor conduct him out of my chamber, I shall in it give him all the civilities he expects, as I have hitherto done, upon the same pretence of being yet *incognito*, to all persons of quality that have seen me here. Your Lordship will tell me if I do well or ill; and in recompence I shall only tell you, that I shall not think I do well longer than you esteem me what I am so much, your, *&c.*

To the Count de Molina.

Hague, Sept. 9,
My Lord, N. S. 1668.

After a tiresome passage by sea, the pleasure of your Excellency's letter was not a little necessary to divert and relieve me, renewing with the Spanish language at least the memory of my past happiness at Brussels. I read the paper that came with it, and much esteem the honour the Marquis does me in still preserving me in his memory and favour, which I shall not fail myself of acknowledging with the first occasion.

I am much pleased with what they tell me here, of the good condition of the army in Flanders; and that they begin, with the money they have received, to recover new life: if they have too much, I wish it were employed in Sweden, to bring that nation into the Spanish interest.

I pray God to preserve your Excellency many years, and give me many occasions of serving you. I kiss your Excellency's hands, *&c.*

Al Sennor Molina.

La Haye, Sept. 9,
Exmo. Senr. S. N. 1668.

Sennor mio, despues de un passaje de mar muy enfadoso, ne me era menester cosa de menor gusto que la carta de V. E. para recrearme, y con la lengua Espagnola refrescar al menos la memoria de mis passados contentamientos de Brussellas. He leydo tan bien el papel adjunto con mucha estima de la honra que me haze el sennor marques de no haverme olvidado ny echado menos en sus buenas gracias, lo que le he de agadecer como devo con la primera occasion.

Mi huelgo mucho di entender loque me dizen aqui delas lindas tropas que se hallan aora en Flandes, y que comiençan a cobrar la vida con el dinero lo que ay de sobrado, quisiera mucho que fuesse en Suecia para enterar los de esta gente en los interesses Espanoles.

Guarde de Dios a V. E. los annos que la desseo, y me de muchos occasiones di servir le. Exmo. Sr. B. L. M. D. V. E. su mayor servidor.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 2, N. S. 1668.

I received the honour of two from your Lordship, of the 4th and 10th past, together in one packet from Mr. Williamson, about the time of my last dispatch into England, which was the reason of my not answering them the same day; besides that

I had written to your Lordship a long one about another subject by that post.

For all that touches the marine treaty, I must refer to my Lord Arlington's letters by this ordinary. As to the point of my treating Envoys, I think it is better to let it rest as it is, than for your Lordship to move any farther in it; and be content we should follow, since we are not at present of a humour to lead.

I believe I could order it so, as Spain and Sweden, and this State, should alter the custom by consent with us; but that which I wished was, that his Majesty might have said singly, he would follow no other Prince's rules but the old ones which he had used, and seemed to approve, by Sir George Downing's demands, and so given me order at my first coming to give the hand and door, as all Ambassadors did, till the French caprice changed it about eight years ago: and this I took to have been of more honour as well as advantage to his Majesty: but it seems I did not understand it right; it may be others would have understood it so too, if they had seen both Spain, Sweden, and these States, and all others except France, follow his Majesty's example, which I could have held a fair wager of, and is every body's opinion here, as it is many people's, that France itself would have fallen in too, upon the advantage in commerce with other Ministers which would have followed it: for if I had given it, not one Resident would have ever seen the French Ambassador without it, whereas two or three of them now do both him and me. I am sure, if France understand it right, they will take an occasion to change it themselves, and to reap the first profit, and all the honour as well as pleasure, of seeing us all dance after them, both up and down, as our leaders in a country-dance; and I am sure I had as lieve be lame as do so;

and cannot tell why his Majesty should not think of being in the head both of the affairs and forms of Christendom, as well as any of his neighbouring Kings.

I acquainted Monsieur de Witt both with the examinations and what your Lordship writ about the prisoners from Surinam: he is of opinion the complaint lies still on their side, as it did at first; that Captain Needham's person, who had first left my Lord Willowby to come to the Dutch, and after them to my Lord Willowby, made them expect nothing friendly from him; that his commission was very extraordinary, and to be executed upon Indians who were their subjects; that he knows not what can be done farther than to send offenders to be both examined and punished by their own Prince; that if they were ill used by the way, the Dutch were very much to blame in that, and it is a thing he abhors (but we have yet only their own words for that), and he will enquire as far as he can into the whole matter. In the mean time, I having no instructions upon it, either to complain or demand, had nothing more to do than to acquaint him with it, till I should receive any farther orders. I hear the same here which your Lordship does there, of the Marquis Castel-Rodrigo's intentions to pass through England into Spain, which I should be glad of: I believe with your Lordship, he will have credit in the councils of Spain; and since you would have me think of what I judge fit to be proposed to him, I will give you my opinion concerning our affairs with Spain, though I am likely enough to be prejudiced in it by so particular acquaintance with the weakness of their present conduct and division of their councils, as well as the consequences of them; which are, want of order in their government, their armies, their revenue, and I doubt, at present, even of genius in their

nation, which ever rises and falls according to that of the Prince or Ministry: for, if men see the way to rise is by worth and virtuous qualities, the genius of a nation will run that way, and produce great subjects. If they can hope to do it by vicious humours, by little arts, by warm pursuits every man of his own interests, the whole spirit runs into those courses, and perhaps the faster, from the propension of our natures rather to ill than to good.

After all, I am of opinion, that our present interest, and that of all Christendom besides, in some measure, is the defence of Spain, and not only in Flanders, but in all other parts where it shall not be able to defend itself against the power and ambition of France, from whence alone we have all our present fears, and shall find our dangers upon any farther growth; for if a great accession should come to them in Navarre, Catalonia, Italy, during the Spanish King's life, or upon his death, as there will do in Lorrain after this old Duke's life, we should find them more formidable and troublesome even in our neighbourhood; as nourishment taken in by one part increases strength in all, if it be once digested. It is true, for want of heat or strength of nature, if it be not digested into the very substance of the body, it will grow weaker rather than stronger by it: as we see in Spain, the spirit began to fail by the weakness of their Kings and Ministers. For this reason, and all those which formerly engaged us so firmly to bear up France and Holland against the house of Austria, I think it is our common interest to bear up Spain now against France; and the more, in respect of their being now lower than ever the others were, by reason of the King's tender life, and the distraction like to ensue his death, if their affairs find no steady support from their neighbours.

If we were what we have been, what we might

be, and God knows why we are not, at home; I think our interest were to enter singly into a defensive league with Spain, and might either preserve their peace, or else hope to make a short war, and with such advantages as might countervail what our trade will suffer, and the Dutch grow, during the time of our being in war and they in peace. My reason for making in that case the league single, is because we might thereby reap alone all the advantages which Spain would be able to give for their defence, which would be great, as low as they are, not only in point of trade by their wools and logwood, but by great pensions in yearly quantities of salt from Sardinia and other parts, which is much beyond any French salts, and would be the same as money to his Majesty, considering what quantities his kingdoms spend: and besides, I doubt not they would offer us constant payments of ready money; and if we could make war abroad at their charge, and without pressing too much the subject at home, or needing them at every turn, I know nothing were more glorious, nor perhaps more safe and advantageous for us, than to be in action abroad, especially if it were in conjunction of three against one, and not as we were lately, one against three.

This we may be sure of, that the Spaniards will give more for our defensive league than for all others; will not much care for any others, so they may have ours, and, in short, will give for it whatever they are able; but the question is, whether we are able to take so vigorous a counsel, and I doubt, not: therefore, the next would be to know, whether we are *so*, to enter into their defence jointly with Sweden, which would either awe the French into a continuance of the peace, or else without doubt make the party strong enough for the war: and in this case we must be content to

share with Sweden whatever Spain can any way give for the purchase of their defence; and where our gains are less, the consideration will be more of what we may lose, or the Dutch gain in trade, if a war should break out and last: for there would be no other reflections, since the Swedes, I believe, would enter into the league upon such terms as Spain could make them; and the Dutch would ask nothing better than to see us all in war and themselves in peace, without danger of the war ending in the growth of the French power.

The third way, is entering into a defensive league with Spain, Sweden, and Holland; for in all cases, I suppose, we might reckon upon the Emperor, as far as that would signify. This I think were certainly to be desired in what case soever we may be, either to accept or decline the other two. But the ills in this are; first, the unlikelihood of Holland's engaging in it; for I could never, since my first acquaintance here, find any disposition towards it; and then the incapacity of Spain to satisfy the pretensions of benefit from them, which we might all three pretend; for Holland would resolve to have a share, if we had any; so that the particular advantage would grow only to Sweden, by certain subsidies or benefits in trade from Spain; and we and Holland should content ourselves with the certainty of preventing a war by so powerful a league.

This is all which occurs to me upon this subject, and which becomes me best, that is, to represent, and not to advise. For matter of proposing to the Marquis, I suppose he will know as well as we, that the proposals ought to come from him, at least till he desires to know of us what we demand upon a defensive league, which is certainly the desire of Spain, either with us singly, or in conjunction with the rest; and were the more to be wished, for the

preventing the Spaniards from falling into a desperate counsel, of agreeing with France, and quitting Flanders to them for advantage on the other side, and a good deal for revenge of their neighbours pressing so hard upon them, by a disadvantageous peace, and afterwards irresolution of maintaining that itself by a defensive league.

If the King should think fit to endeavour the disposing of the Dutch to enter into it (which for my part I think they are engaged in by the first, as I remember, or the second article of the peace at Aix, though they do not conceive so), I should make some trials, and give account of what I find; for I fear we are not growing fast enough into a posture of making these paces alone, at least by what I could observe or hear during my short stay in England, which was but too much entertained with ill-bodings and complaints: but, *quid tristes querimoniæ si non supplicio culpa reciditur? quid leges sine moribus vanæ proficiunt?* without great virtue and steadiness in the government, and resolution of going through with whatsoever is thought fit and just, whereby men may see that the only way to rise is to deserve it; all tempering of factions, taking off persons, and soothing parties, is but patching up an ill house: I mean not virtue, in a peaking, formal, presbyterian sense, but that which the greatest nations of old so politicly favoured and renowned, which consisted in those qualities that made men fit for the service of their Princes and countries, by strong and healthful dispositions both of bodies and minds. Your Lordship's pardon for this once, and you shall have no more such troubles as these from your Lordship's, *&c.*

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 2, N. S. 1668.

SINCE my last I have received your Lordship's of the 14th, and in one letter from Mr. Williamson an account of what was resolved at the foreign committee, to whom your Lordship's only referred the determination of what manner the amendments of the marine treaty should be pursued in; and accordingly I have since fallen into the debate of that affair in all its particulars, with Monsieur de Witt: and the differences between us are not great, and some of his exceptions seem so reasonable, that I must be furnished with arguments to maintain the points against him, if they must be insisted on; for I confess I can find none of my own.

Upon the first he consents to the change of the form of certificates, and will accept of such as we shall draw up, so they run equal on both sides *mutatis mutandis:* but to that which the East-India Company say, of their desire that trade may rather be carried on without any certificate at all; he says, he does not see how that can be, or to what purpose all the articles are against counterband goods, since it is by the certificate whereby it is known what the ship is, and what the goods are she carries, and thereby all farther trouble of search is avoided. He says, he should be content, and the advantage would be theirs, to have all trade free, and none to ask at sea what another ship was, whither it went, or what it carried; but since that cannot be, there is no way of avoiding disputes, besides that of certificates: and indeed I doubt, the merchants in that considered not the main end of the whole regulation, which was to avoid quarrels between the nations; but only their own private interests, in saving the trouble and charge of certificates, which

made them likewise desire it might be from the magistrates of the ports from whence the ships parted, and not from the admiralty.

Upon the second, he consents to the proposal in the margin, with only the leaving out those two words [of *India*], so as the rule may be generally to all places, and not confined to the Indies; which I had nothing to say against, believing those words fell in, only by the matter coming from the East-India Company, without notice of any other traders.

Upon these two points I had given your Lordship the account formerly of my having at several discourses gained his consent: and I do not find that any thing he excepts at in them, is different from what we mean ourselves.

For the other points, which are wholly new, and additions to the treaty, they cost us a great deal more debate, which I shall not trouble your Lordship with, but only the result at least, of the opinion he gave me leave to write to your Lordship as his, upon them; though the first, second, and fourth, were all of more difficult digestion, and such as I doubt would have given some work to commissioners in pursuance of the Breda treaty so much as to have touched: for the truth is, our trade in the Indies being so little, and theirs so much, all equalities of this kind are gains to us, and loss to them.

For the first of the four particulars not provided for in the marine treaty, he consents to the one half of the period ending with the word *government:* but for the other, allowing liberty to pass any river or pass leading to any place of trade, although the other Company have a fort or castle upon the said river or pass; he says it cannot possibly be, nor would it ever be executed, though the States should consent to it; for in those passes, the very end of either Company's building a fort

or castle was, to secure the trade of such a country to themselves; so as they would by this article lose all the benefit of the expence they had been at: that, if to such nations there were any other way found, not under the reach of their cannon, that passage should be free: but under a fort built to the aforesaid ends, he did not believe any orders would compel those in it, either of our nation or theirs, to see the trade they had secured to themselves, drawn away to the other nation by a free passage.

The second particular I got wholly agreed to, though with much difficulty, as importing, I suppose, more advantage to us than any of the rest, considering how many more nations the Dutch trade with than we, by virtue of such agreements.

The third was without difficulty, importing, as we both conceived, no more than was before provided by the marine treaty, and more particularly.

For the fourth, he could not consent it should extend farther than to ships belonging to either Company, or to any nations or people subject to either Company, and consequently under protection of the said Company; for the making it run, in the words of our article, *To any nations with whom either Company shall trade, and not in enmity with the other Company*, would occasion only either Company's selling their passports to all the nations that would buy them, leaving it afterward to dispute, upon any accident should arrive, whether such nation were in enmity with the other Company or no; the natives maintaining the negative, and perhaps the Company the affirmative, and it may be upon pretence of some new injury, which had lately given the occasion of the enmity: and where such disputes should be determined, was difficult to find. Besides, he argued from the common use of nations, that passports operated only towards those

who were subject to such who granted the passports, or else, by alliance and accord between nations, to such as were one another's subjects and under their protection: but how it should extend to other nations because they were not in enmity with our ally, he could not see any reason, nor had heard any example. But, on the other side, it was ever to be supposed, that there would be no need at all of passports from the one, to such as were not in enmity with the other; nations being to be esteemed as just in their actions, and not likely to disturb or seize another without at least pretence of enmity, which would be a sort of piracy at sea, or robbery at land; but in case such a thing should happen, no other nation concerned themselves in it, unless it were offered to their subjects, and consequently to persons under their protection.

I thought his reasoning seemed good, and besides I imagined the thing was not of weight; for, where one Company found a nation not in actual enmity with the other, and had a mind to protect their navigation, they might do it by receiving that nation into their protection, and then giving them passports as subjects to them. Where nations will not submit to such a subjection, they must protect themselves. And this was the result of our conference, which came to no sort of agreement on either side, since I neither had power to do it from his Majesty, nor he from the States: so that we can only represent on each side what passed, and attend our orders upon them; and he in the mean time dispose the States to his opinion, when we meet and conclude formally upon them.

When I receive instructions, I suppose it will be necessary to know the manner as well as the matter we are to agree in; that is, whether a new marine treaty is to be made, with these particulars to be digested into the body of it; or else those to be

perfected in an instrument by themselves, as additions to the marine treaty. For the doing it with or without commissioners I can say nothing, since so great authors are on both sides: but if both seem necessary, one to the substance, and the other to the form, I was thinking whether two or more might not be joined in commission with me, to treat and conclude it with commissioners of theirs, and those to be acquainted before-hand with what was to be expected upon this matter. But I know not how our expectation of having the commissioners meet at London would be satisfied by their meeting at the Hague; nor how forms go in joining commissioners to an ambassador, for a particular business; and so I leave it. I am, &c.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 12, N. S. 1668.

THOUGH I could not think it became me to interrupt your Grace's business or entertainment by empty letters; and I know you have what share you please of the constant troubles my Lord Arlington receives upon the account of my negociations here; yet having this inclosed sent me to convey to your Grace, I was in hopes a good letter may keep an ill one a little in countenance, and bear me out in taking this occasion of preserving myself in your Grace's favour and memory, which I esteem among my best possessions, and should be glad to find ways of continuing them, rather by serving than by troubling you. Whilst I can do nothing towards the first, I will do the less towards the other, and content myself to assure your Grace, in the language of a plain man, that none can wish you happier than I do in the course of your fortunes and honours, nor rejoice more in the presages I make of both, from those wise and generous dis-

positions I left you in, of employing those many great talents and advantages given you towards his Majesty's and the kingdom's true service and happiness. I am still of the mind, nothing is more necessary to both, than the continuance and increase of that harmony which we used with so much reason to wish so well to, and which, I think, has at this time more operation than that of the spheres was thought to have upon the good temper and order of the world. For, I believe, the spring of all the motions or quiet we are like to see round about us, lies in that point and those counsels which proceed from it.

I beg your Grace's pardon for this trouble, which I should not have begun, but to end with my being, my Lord, your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant.

To the Constable of Castile.

Hague, Oct. 19,
My Lord, N. S. 1668.

HAVING passed so much time, and with so much satisfaction to myself, in his Majesty's service at Brussels, it is impossible for me to lose the concern I have ever had for the interest of that country, or to avoid rejoicing with your Excellency upon your succeeding in the government, wishing you all honour and satisfaction, as foreseeing many advantages to his Catholic Majesty in so prudent a choice. But, with the plainness that has been always natural to me, I must confess that it has not been at this time without some regret that I have lost the correspondence of a governor of Flanders, with whom I had contracted so great

Al Condestable de Castilla.

De la Haye, Oct. 19,
Exmo. Senr. *S.N.*1668.

Sennor mio. Haviendo stado tanto tiempo y con tanto gusto a Brussellas, de la parte del Rey mi Sennor, no me es possible perder el encarecimento que he siempre tenido por las cosas y interesses deste pays, ni dexar de dar a V. E. el parabien de su llegada a este govierno desseandole en ello mucha satisfaccion y honra, como augurando a su Magestad Catolica mucho provecho de tan sabia eleccion. Pero con la llaneza que me ha sido siempre natural, es menester confessar, que me pesa mucho en este punto de haver perdido la correspondencia de un governador de Flandes, con quien he tenido tan estrecha amistad, y entera confianza; hallandome aora en una

a friendship, and had so entire a confidence; finding myself in such a conjuncture (after having so disposed the States of Holland) as to be confident of having it in my power to do something, if not something very considerable, for the common good and repose of Christendom, as well as for the interest and safety of the Spanish monarchy; if there were at present a governor of Flanders that had full powers joined with his own desires, and confidence between us to agree together in the concert of such a negotiation. I doubt it will not look prudent to enter farther into such reasoning with your Excellency, to whom I am so wholly unknown; though perhaps you may have heard at Brussels that I am not a man used to build castles in the air, no more than to engage myself unseasonably in affairs of this kind: but your Excellency may believe me, that at this time nothing is more absolutely necessary, nor that more concerns the interest of Spain, than that absolute powers should be sent either to your Excellency, or some other Minister, to treat and conclude with the three allies, and which is likewise as necessary for the pretended satisfaction of the Swedes, as for the advantage (in so much greater proportion) that it may be to Spain and the common interest of Christendom. The same that I say on one side to your Excellency, I come from saying on the other, to the Swedish Minister resident here: for it is too plain to be seen,

conyunctura, y aviendo dispuesto los estados de aqui de tal manera que me pareçe poder obrar algo, sino mucho por el bien commun, y por el reposo de la Christianidad, como por la salud y interesses de la monarchia de Espanna, si estuviera aora governador o ministro en Flandes que tuviera poderes bastantes y tan bien la voluntad y confiença para concurrir commigo en el concierto de tal negocio. No pareciera de hombre discreto de entrar mas adelante en estas razones oon V. E. a quien stoy tan desconocido; aunque bien pudiera aver entendido a Brussellas que no soy hombre para dexir disparates, ni para ponerme fuera de tiempo y occasion en cosas agenas. Pero crea me V. E. que no sey que no puede aver otra en este tiempo que toca mas a Espanna, ny que la sea tan necessaria, que de embiar sin perder punto o a V. E. o a otro Ministro poderes absolutos para tratar y concluyr con los tres alliades, loque fuera menester, tan bien por la satisfaccion pretendida de los Suedeses, que por la utilitad que con ella se puede alcançar mas que proporcionado a la Espanna, y al bien commun de la Christianidad. Lo mismo que digo de una parte a V. E. vengo de desir de otra al ministro de Suecia, a qui residente porque bien hecho de ver, que con las ydas y bueltas en Espanna y en Suecia sobre estas materias, no se hara jamas sino perder el tiempo y las occasiones, aunque el primero nunca se le velve a los hombres, y muy raramente las postreras. A lo menos muy claro esta, que

that with the length of the journeys, and returns from Spain and Sweden, nothing can be hoped for but the loss of time and occasions; the first of which never returns to mortal man, and very rarely the other: at least, it is certain that if we do not this winter make our advantage of the present posture of affairs for the common good, we are never again to hope for the same occasion.

si este hivierno no nos approvechamos de las presentes por il bien commun, nunca hemos de esperar las mismas por el venidero.

I beg of your Excellency, that this advice may be only to yourself, or those in Spain who are most concerned in it. What is most necessary, I have told your Excellency, is to hasten the powers, and that needs no consultation, the rest time will shew; and it is not necessary the Spanish Ministers here should concern themselves in it till the powers come. I engage myself to dispose things so here, that, whenever they arrive, your Excellency shall be able to make the advantage of them, for your Master and the countries you govern. Your Excellency will not look upon this letter as coming from an Ambassador, but from a man extremely desiring the public good, and that has been a little enlightened by having so much part in what has been designed towards it: and I hope will pardon my having entertained you so long in a language that I begin now to forget, and had never learned well: but I had no mind what I have here said to your Excellency should pass through another hand.

Supplico a V. E. que este aviso la sirve a solas, si no a los tan bien en Espanna qui son los mas interessados en ellos. Porque lo que es el necessario lo vengo de desir en lo de hazer venir los poderes, en esto no se ha de consultar; por demas los tiempos lo diran, y no se avra di entremeterse a qui, en el entretanto Ministro Espannol antes que vengan los poderes, que yo me encargo de disponer las cosas a qui di manera que llegendo los V. E. avra de approvecharse d'ellos por el bien de su Rey, y de los payses que govierna. V. E. no ha de interpretar esto como viniendo di mano de Ambaxador, pero de un hombre muy afficionado al bien commun, y un poco esclarecido en las cosas corrientes, commo aviendo tenido tanta parte en ellas; y me pardone averla en tretenido en una lengua que y a commiençe a olvida, aviendo le nunca bien apprendido; pero no he querido que V. E. en lo que la digo, avria de tercero.

Pray God preserve your Ex-

Guarde Dios a V. E. muchos

cellency, and give me the occasions of serving you.

annos, y me de las occasiones de servir la.

I kiss your Excellency's hand, &c.

B. L. M. D. V. E.
Su mayor servidor.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Nov. 2, N. S. 1668.

I HAVE had the honour of your Lordship's of the 13th past some days by me, and deferred the acknowledgment of it till this post, that I might make it at a little more leisure. I must first beg so much favour from your Lordship (for I shall esteem it a kindness to me), that you will never constrain yourself to write to me in pain or trouble; but upon all such occasions use either any other hand, or any other's correspondence with me, to send me your commands: and in the next place I shall desire your Lordship's belief, that I never took any thing ill in the least, from any hand, that I knew meant me well; and am very well pleased to hear of my faults from my friends, as I hope they will ever be to receive my just excuses, and others I shall never desire to trouble them with. I know your Lordship is satisfied with what I did in shewing that letter, having given you the advice of it at the same time I promised it; and I shall make use of the prudent intimation you please to give me upon that particular.

Monsieur de Witt has several times spoke to me since about the *pavillon*, applauding your Lordship's resolution, or at least inclination, to bring it to some certainty; and desired me to offer to your Lordship, as most advantageous to a good issue in it, that the expedients he proposed you would first mention as your own; because whatever is offered from the contrary party is commonly either suspected, or despised, even for its being so. I find,

a good end of this matter is the point he has much at heart, believing no quarrel could ever happen between the nations if that occasion were once out of the way. He says, he has never yet spoken to any man about the offers and expedients he proposed, and knows they will be stomached by many here; but he will put all the strength he has upon it to make them pass, or any thing else that is at all reasonable in the case, and doubts not to succeed. I suppose whatever we have by accord with them, will not be only so much of a gained, instead of a disputed right; but will engage them to further our pretence of so much with our neighbours, and to take part in our quarrel, if any shall be raised by any of them with us, upon that point: and if so, we should have something very substantial for that which, methinks, is very airy now, and which serves only for an occasion of wars at a time we have no mind to enter into any, and, I doubt, with some reason: for if we had a conquering genius at this time among us, and force to second it, nothing could be so useful to us as this pretence: but every pilot, that would be safe and well, must carry sail as the weather is abroad, and as the sides of his ship are strong or weak to resist it.

I am much pleased to find I have the honour of agreeing with your Lordship in all points that fall into consideration, as well this, as that about envoys, and about the benefits of a quadruple league; concerning which I writ my opinion freely in one to my Lord Arlington by the last post, being the only thing which can crown the great work his Majesty has undertaken, of settling the peace of Christendom, and giving a stop to the French career, which, about ten months since, was in a fair way to over-run us all, one after another; and hangs still like a cloud over all their neighbours' heads, leaving every one in doubt when and where

it will fall. And till that be compassed, I shall hardly be secure of Spain's not trinkling at one time or other with France, for the remainder of Flanders, at least upon such a revolution as would arrive at that King's death, if not before: nor of the French party's getting ground enough again into Sweden, at one time or other, to turn the bias of that Crown towards the French interests by the offers of money, which can best be made them on that side: whereas by such a league Spain would find their account in keeping Flanders, and not fear any war which the French pretensions there might engage them in: Sweden would find theirs by some certain subsidies from Spain, even in times of peace, and by assurance from them and us of greater in case of a war: Holland would be broken off from all return into any new measures with France, and be forced to follow the common interests and counsels of the alliance: Spain and Sweden would be both hindered from entering into any separate concert or treaty without us and Holland: the Emperor, and Princes of the empire, and Duke of Lorrain, would be glad to be admitted into such an alliance; and his Majesty would remain head and director of a league which would have the glory of preserving the peace of Christendom, and checking and bounding the French greatness, at a time when no other Prince durst look it in the face. And in case of a war breaking out from France, in spite of all these defences; I suppose, considering the strength of the alliance, and the temper of our people at home, bent wholly upon these counsels, his Majesty would have rather reason to desire, than to apprehend it.

I conceive the way of effecting such a league must be, to make a draught of it with Monsieur de Witt here, if he can be finally disposed to it: and that with all the secrecy in the world, and to

proceed in it, as near as is possible, with all the fairness and equality, in the consideration and comprehension of each party's interests, which is the only way to facilitate such negotiations; and whenever we and Monsieur de Witt are agreed in it, then for his Majesty to take upon him the proposing it to Spain, and trying what private advantages may be gained from that Crown, in consideration of his both proposing and effecting a matter so much to their advantage.

All that seems to be against such a counsel, is his Majesty's present want of treasure, which renders him in a condition very unfit to enter into any action abroad, by provoking France.

As to that: First, the end of this counsel is peace, and not war; and seems indeed the only way to secure it, by letting France see, they cannot find their account in a war; for, till they do that, they will never leave the designs of it. Then, instead of provoking France, I should think this would make them much warmer in their offers and applications towards us; when they see, that without gaining us, they are absolutely bound to the peace: for, to say the truth, our falling at any time into the French interests, is the ready way to a war abroad, wherein it may be we shall not have any present share, but shall pay for our present quiet with dear interest of the utmost danger after two or three years time.

Besides, though our condition is ill towards the support of a war, it is the most imprudent thing we can do perhaps, to own it, if we intend to continue any commerce abroad; whereas, looking our just debts, both to our neighbours and ourselves, boldly in the face, will, as it does sometimes with a merchant, hold up our credit so high, that with good future management, and the strength of that, we may help to re-establish our estate; but if not,

nothing can keep us up so much, as being closely linked with several other traders of better stock, who will by that means become engaged not to let us sink. And in case of action to succeed such a quadruple alliance, and his Majesty's necessities keeping him from furnishing his part towards the support of it, it is not to be imagined that Spain and Holland would not do their utmost towards his supply, rather than lose his assistance and leave him under the temptation of falling into any new measures with France.

After all this, I think, let his Majesty make what paces he pleases, either bold or tender, in the way he is (for I cannot think of a change in that with the present conjunctures) I know nothing will be so necessary, with the foresight either of peace or war, as for his Majesty not to be found the next spring without any money in his treasury, or credit to raise it speedily and easily, without relying wholly upon his parliament's supplies, by any new burdens upon the body of the people; for that can hardly be done without long and perhaps cross debates of the House, which lessen his Majesty's credit with his neighbours whenever they happen, more than the supplies granted can raise it: and besides, after so great payments as the kingdom has continued ever since his Majesty's restoration, especially during the last three years, though joined with the great diminution of money and trade during the war; I question whether any thing considerable can be raised in general upon the people, without some reasonable occasions of aversion and complaints.

But nothing, they say, is more the part of a weak understanding, and unfit for business, than to propose and enlarge upon inconveniencies, without so much as offering remedies: and therefore I shall say, that first, methinks, two proposals which have

been already a-foot, are very considerable towards this end; as the selling of small inconsiderable quit-rents, where the sum is hardly worth the charge of raising, and yet, by the reason of the trouble to the tenant by them, they will yield five or six, if not ten years purchase more than greater rents: if this counsel be tied up to these circumstances, I think it very advantageous, and as prejudicial if it be suffered to go beyond them.

Secondly, the selling of the chimney-money would, I suppose, be easily granted by the parliament; would take off the tax, of all others most distasteful to the subjects, and if sold at pretty easy and moderate rates, would be taken kindly of the people, purchased readily, and yield a very great sum; and the most equally raised that any could be, sparing no man's part, and holding an equal proportion with every man's estate: only this circumstance should be in it to make it easy, that not only every man should have the offer and pre-emption of his own; but if upon refusal it should be sold to another hand, yet it shall be free for the owner to buy it of him at any time within a certain space, as of two or three years; and the present purchaser to be content with the profit he shall have made in the mean time, which will prove a great interest for his capital.

Thirdly, a reducing of the interest which the King pays from ten to eight in the hundred, with which the bankers may very well be contented, and must be, I suppose, if the King pleases, and finds a course to make them see their security cannot fail them: for two in the hundred gain is, of all reason, enough for them where the security they receive is as good as what they give, as it is in this case: for the King's security to the banker is in effect the banker's security to his private creditors; and whenever one fails, the other must. Now

the bankers pay but six in the hundred at most for inland money, and less for some: and, I have reason to doubt, a very great trade is driven with them from Holland by Dutch merchants, who turn their money through their hands, encouraged by the great interest they gain there in lieu of so small here, that the States have lately refused to take the value of twenty thousand pounds sterling of the Duke of Lunenburg's money at two and a half per cent. and three is the utmost that any man makes. And if the King by granting good security, punctual payments, and the reputation of good order in his revenue, were gotten into credit, I do not see why he might not upon occasion take up what he pleased at six per cent. as well as the States do here at two and a half.

Fourthly, to enable the King upon any occasion to give better security, I know nothing would do so much, as if the parliament could be disposed to settle the customs upon him for one year after his death, as they are already for his life; but that being an uncertain term, money will not be readily, or without exaction of interest, lent upon that which may fail next day: and yet I conceive it to be the largest branch of the revenue, and in all other points the most certain.

Fifthly, if any thing were set on foot in parliament towards an act of resumption of grants of crown lands since a certain time, use might at least be made of it towards drawing such grantees to a voluntary composition of holding their grants at the rent of a fourth or fifth part of the real value to the crown, in consideration of having such grants confirmed by act of parliament, or the King's engagement to consent to nothing to their prejudice, after their consent to such a rent and tenure.

Sixthly, a view may be made at least of what has been gained by any grants from his Majesty, above

what were really his Majesty's intentions to grant: as where the King intended to give five hundred pounds a-year, and perhaps seven or eight, or a thousand pounds is made of it; and the same of sums of money out of certain benefits granted towards the raising them; and what is found to be beyond the intention of the King's grant to be repaid.

Many smaller particulars might perhaps be thought of, all which, with what has been mentioned, will be made valuable by a good order in the management, and a stanch hand in grants hereafter, till the King be as much before-hand as he is behind-hand now. I am, my Lord, your, &c.

To Mr. Mountague.*

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 2, N. S. 1669.

It is an ill sign of the dulness of this place, that I must have recourse to the compliments of the season for the occasion of a letter, and that I can find very little to say from hence besides wishing your Lordship, according to our good old style, a merry Christmas. The Spaniards have not yet had so much good nature as to make ours here the merrier, with their two hundred thousand crowns: I doubt it has some enchantment or other upon it; and is not to be delivered but in some fatal hour, or by some charmed knight. All is here frozen up, and the Bishop of Munster may march if he pleases; but if he do, as has been so much talked, will blow his fingers unless he receives very great influences from your warmer climate; for the good pay of the States is in so much credit among their neighbours, that I believe they will not want what forces they shall have occasion for, besides what they have a-foot.

* Afterwards Duke of Montague.

I should be very glad to hear what becomes of my Lord and Lady of Northumberland, and how long they intend their pilgrimage, supposing your Lordship keeps some correspondence with them, of which I am out of the way; but very much in that of being, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 18, N. S. 1669.

THE Baron d'Isola arrived here yesterday; I have this afternoon had some discourses with him upon the subject of his journey, which he professes to be a desire of advancing the treaty of guaranty, as a thing his Master has more interest in than Spain itself, which will be better able to subsist after the loss of Flanders than the empire can. I find he came with hopes of effecting much by his eloquence and great parts, and by making others see more of their own interests than they were willing to do. And so the two themes, wherein he came provided, were to make it evident that France would open the war again this spring, and within six weeks attack either Burgundy or Luxemburgh; and on the other side, that the councils of Spain, as they are now composed, if they saw not a solid and firm assistance from their neighbours, would fall into the easiest way of ending that matter, by giving up Flanders upon the best terms they could: that they were as a sick man, that would not or could not help themselves, and were so to be dealt with by those that were so deeply concerned in their loss, as these States in particular seem to be: and that after the disarming of the Duke of Lorrain, which France had now resolved, and the seizing of Burgundy, which would be their next work, it would be impossible to maintain a war in what

remains of Flanders, when they could do it no longer by diversion, after these two inlets into France stopped up. From this we fell into the story of the Swedish subsidies, and the hardships put upon Spain in that business; all which I suppose your Lordship has heard a dozen times already, and are obvious enough, and therefore I shall not repeat them, not remembering any thing new in that discourse: but it ended with Spain's having less reason to pay for that peace than France, since the guaranty offered would be equal to both, and the gain of the war had been all on the French side: that for his part, he could trust little in any treaty where the obligations were not reciprocal; and when the guaranty was given, he did not know whether these States would not be still apt to sacrifice any new conquests France should make, to any unreasonable peace, provided the danger grew not nearer them: and he had the more reason to believe it, by a resolution he was assured of, among the States of Holland, to treat with France about diverting their attempts upon Flanders in case of the King of Spain's death, and leaving all the rest of that monarchy open to his pretensions.

This was the substance of his first discourse: upon which I told him, that the friendliest office I could do him at his arrival was, to tell him what men and what resolutions he would find here, to the end he might not lose his paces by their being at first ill directed. That, for their own interest in the preservation of Flanders, they thought they understood it as well as any other of their neighbours, and needed no new lights in that prospect, nor new motions, to engage in its defence, if they might hope to succeed: that this depended upon Spain's good conduct and provisions in Flanders, and upon their satisfying Sweden.

That without Sweden's engagement, Holland could do nothing considerable in their defence, lying open to the French on one side, and the Bishop of Munster on the other; and without Holland, he might assure himself the King would never interest himself in their quarrel, but seek his measures some way else: so that the strength of their whole assistance depended upon the engaging of Sweden, and that upon payment of the subsidies. That I would tell him freely, I thought Holland might be induced to give a general guaranty, according to the article of the treaty at Aix. That if his Majesty and Sweden would be induced to join with them in it, I thought it was the cheapest bargain that ever any crown had made. That I believed a guaranty, without reciprocal engagements, more to their advantage, and less to ours, than a defensive league, which they so much desired: but yet the conjuncture was such, and the respects that entered into it, as I could assure him he would fail in the pursuit of the last; and, I believed, might succeed, if he would content himself with the other. That, if nothing else were in the way, there was not time left for it, and therefore I would advise him to lose none about it. That, for what should happen after the King of Spain's death, I was confident neither the King nor the States would enter into it, but leave those considerations to the season in which they should arise. That if Spain was resolved to destroy themselves, that was a thing beyond all our prevention or remedy, and so only to be bemoaned, and no more to be thought on: if they would be preserved, they knew the price, which is, the Swedish subsidies, and could best tell whether it were worth it or no.

This I thought was the best way of dealing with a person that had more wit a great deal than I,

and so would be sure to have the better in argument: and besides, I thought it fittest for a business which it is necessary to bring to some short issue; and the Baron seemed not to resent it ill, and said, Well, if you are certain the Dutch will not be brought to a league with us, we must think of what we can have, and not what we cannot; and all that remained to be done was, to draw up the form of a guaranty, and send it to the constable, and let him know that, upon satisfaction of the Swedish subsidies, that should be ready for him, and without it we had no more to say. I told him I thought he was in the right way, and hoped he would succeed in it, and assured him of our endeavours to draw Sweden to the same measures, and persuade them, if need were, to some little ease in the terms of payment. He asked me, in case the subsidies were not paid, and the guaranty given, and France should next March attack Burgundy or Luxemburg, what I thought we would do? I told him I was ever to think that the King and his Allies would do, upon all occasions, what they had engaged. He would have had me join with him in drawing up an instrument of guaranty: but I, that had a mind to excuse myself, at least till I received my instruction, advised him to propose it to Monsieur de Witt, with whom he had an hour assigned upon our parting. And so our first conference ended. I am, my Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, April 24, N. S. 1669.

Upon a late conversation with Monsieur de Witt, though I had some reason to be surprised, yet I think I had none to take any notice of it; but I am very sure I can have no reason for doing it to any other person but to your Lordship, of whose

friendship I have had so many testimonies, and with whom I have lived in so much confidence ever since our first acquaintance. The present subject is so delicate, that I can hardly tell how to touch it myself, or to trust it in any other hands but your Lordship's, who will better judge whether any use may be made of it, and I am sure will make no ill one; nor do I expect there can be other, than to gain some light in a matter wherein I am wholly ignorant, and perhaps your Lordship may not have been curious enough to observe so near, and which it is yet very necessary for us both to be as well informed as we can.

Monsieur de Witt came to me, as he said, upon a particular visit; and as a friend, not a Minister: but the occasion of it at present, he would confess, was, to acquaint me with a conversation he had lately had with Monsieur Puffendorff, a Swedish agent, who passed this way from Paris to his own country; that he had been some time at the French court since our measures taken by the triple alliance, and the negotiations set on foot with the Spaniards in consequence of them. That the Ministers in France had taken much pains to persuade him that Sweden would find their account very ill in pursuing those measures; that Spain would fail them in what was pretended from them; and that Holland alone would not be able to support them, or the measures they had rashly taken: and to make this good, the Ministers there had at length told him (but as a secret only for the service and information of the court of Sweden), that England would certainly fail them, and was already changed in the course of all those counsels they had taken with Holland and Sweden, though they did not think fit to let any thing of it appear; and the secret was yet in very few hands, either in the

French or the English court. That when this agent seemed incredulous of all this story, and to suspect that it was artificial, and only intended to give an umbrage or false light to the court of Sweden, and thereby help them to make the first false step, Monsieur Turenne at last shewed him a letter from Monsieur Colbert their Ambassador, wherein he gave an account of the happy successes he had met with in his negotiations at our court, of the good dispositions there, and especially those of some of our chief Ministers; upon which he added these words, * *Et je leur ay enfin fait sentir tout l'étendue de la liberalité de sa Majesté.*

Here Monsieur de Witt stopped as if he had no more to say, and with a very equal countenance; though I found he had observed mine more narrowly all the while he was talking, as well as when he ended. For my part, though I thought the story and the circumstances very odd, and knew not what to make of it, yet I believe I looked innocent, and thereby as unconcerned as he did. I told him I had reason to be surprised at what he had said, but did not know whether we had either of us any to put much weight or draw any great consequence from all this story: that there might be artifice in it on several hands, and some of those it had passed through might deceive, and others be deceived; that there might be mistake in men's apprehensions of what passed in talk, and the relations too: that Monsieur Colbert might say a great deal to value his services to his court, and more than he thought himself: that the Swedish agent might be made partial in France to their interests, and wish his Crown still in them, as most beneficial to the Ministers that were so engaged:

* *And I have at last made them sensible of the whole extent of his Majesty's liberality.*

that it was at least artificial in the French Court to employ Monsieur Turenne to give this notice to the Swedish agent, and shew him Monsieur Colbert's letter, which had been more proper for a Secretary of State; but that it was likely Monsieur Turenne's shewing it and believing it would have more credit and more effect in the Court of Sweden. That farther than this I had nothing to say upon it, besides protesting to him upon my honour and truth that I knew nothing of it, nor had I reason, by any thing I heard from England, to suspect any more than I knew. That I had told him, upon the negotiation of our last alliance and his suspicions of our inconstancy in England, what I truly thought of the dispositions and intentions both of his Majesty and his Ministers: that I knew, and all men confessed, their interests were so deep in it, as well as the humour of the whole kingdom, that it was hard to think I could be deceived. That, however, I could answer for no man but myself, and that I would; that if ever these measures were broken, it should not be by me; nor would I ever have any part in destroying what I had the honour of building, so much for the safety, as I conceived, of both our nations and the rest of Christendom, and with so much glory and applause to his Majesty's counsels upon that occasion. That I was still of the same mind, and had no more to say.

Monsieur de Witt smiled, and said, what he had told me was but as a friend and in conversation; and left me to make what use I pleased of it, or none if I thought fit, without drawing it into farther consequence: that he had been very suspicious when he first entered into the Ministry, but had been so often deceived by it, that he had cured himself of that quality. That he knew very well it had been said among some foreign Mini-

sters here some months since, * *Qu'il faut avouer qu'il y a eu pour neuf mois du plus grand ministere du monde en Angleterre;* as if they believed some change had befallen our counsels before the last year ended. That for his part, who went to the substantial as near as he could, and the plainest way, he had made but one reflection, and kept that as much as he could to himself: which was, that after my embassy hither had been resolved in England, to support and improve the ends of our last alliances, and to engage the Emperor and chief Princes of the empire, as well as Spain, in the support of them, he could not but wonder to find me engaged of late by my orders from Court so warmly in a *chicane* about such a trifle as that of Surinam, and in so many eager disputes about the pretensions of our East India Company, which were fitter for merchants than for Ministers, and looked as if we had them more at heart than the pursuit of those public interests that were thought so necessary for Christendom at my first coming over: but after all, for his part he would go on constantly upon the foot of our last alliance, as the best ground of our common safety; and believed the States would do so too, till his Majesty or his Ministers should let them plainly see he had changed his measures. And with this, rising up, he seemed not to expect any answer, but to go away in very good humour: and I was not very desirous to draw our discourse into more length, and so it ended.

It is time this letter should do so too, which I desire your Lordship will burn when you have read it; and to forget it, if you find no occasion to think farther of it; and then I shall endeavour to do so too. I am sure it should never have begun, if it were not to end with the professions of

* *That it must be confessed, there has been for nine months the greatest Ministry in the world in England.*

that truth and passion wherewith I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant.

To my Lord Cavendish.

My Lord, Hague, July 18, N. S. 1669.

THOUGH I had much rather make your Lordship my compliments upon some better fortunes, and upon your health, rather than your dangers; yet I could not omit doing it at this time, upon so honourable a part as all men allow you to have had in your late adventure at Paris; which I do not only as a private person and servant of your Lordship's, who wishes you all increase of honour that may not be bought too dear; but withal as a public Minister, who ought ever to consider above all things the honour of our nation, and knows that the complexion of it in time of peace is very much either mended or spoiled in the eyes of strangers, by the actions and carriage of particular persons abroad. I can assure your Lordship, all that can be said to your advantage upon this occasion is the common discourse here; and not disputed by the French themselves; who say, you have been as generous in excusing your enemies as brave in defending yourself: the Dutch will have it, that you have been the first in excess; and say, that such a thing, as seven or eight falling upon one, would never have been done in any other place but France, nor suffered neither by the rest of the company. However, I am of opinion, if excess may be allowed in any part, it is in that; and therefore rejoice with you in the honour of both, and with myself in that of my being, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, July.... 1669.

I AM to acknowledge your Lordship's of July the ninth, and have but too much reason to agree with you in despairing to see this matter of the marine article to be brought to any fair conclusion, about which I writ at large by last post to Sir John Trevor; and will tell your Lordship more in private, that I very much fear our East-India merchants have some farther meaning in it, than yet we understand, and than they desire we should. For having had this whole business run through my head with more thought and application than ever any other did before, I could not but observe many several inequalities in their proceedings, and make some reflections upon them.

As first, that it began immediately upon the finishing our alliances with the Dutch; in which none could detract in the least from the glory abroad, and popular applause at home, of the King's counsels, but by declaiming against this marine treaty, though at first it was only upon the inequality of the passports: when that point was easily accorded by Monsieur de Witt, our merchants added another, about the definition of a *besieged place,* which was all their exceptions against the treaty itself could amount to: but when there were some hopes given by Monsieur de Witt in his letters to me, that this likewise might be surmounted, they added several other articles, untouched in the marine treaty: and when they saw all were like to be gained here, but that one of a free trade with people not in subjection, and of passing forts (which Sir George Downing had found here was an invincible point) they then declared, that without this all the rest were worth

nothing: and upon this said, They have left our treaty a-ground now for about eight months past. When we begun first to struggle out of it, they said, they only aimed at preventing some innovations, which had been of late years practised by the Dutch, against the ancient usages in those parts, and many others of the same kind, which they had reason to fear: whereupon the Dutch desired the particular instances of what they either had felt, or thought they had occasion to fear, that so they might redress us in particular, and understand us in general: our merchants instanced in Cochin and Cananor, and I think one other place, which Monsieur de Witt said was not at all to the case, but to another, provided for by the defining of a *besieged place:* so that I was forced by them here, to press still for instances by several letters, till the merchants at last sent a long angry paper, with very many recapitulations of things past, and which the Dutch said had been debated and agreed in former treaties; and therefore still desired to know, which of the particulars named, we thought applicable to the present question. Upon which I received answer, that the practice of the Dutch, against which they desired to provide, was but beginning; that they could not, or that it was to no purpose, to give particular instances, their apprehensions being general, of what the Dutch intended to impose upon us: and that, in short, what we desired, was for prevention rather than remedy; which, they said, made it much harder in the Dutch to deny us.

After this Monsieur de Witt and I concerted an article between us, to propose to our principals on either side, and which I confess I thought comprehended our meaning, as I understood it by the letters I received from your Lordship, and the King's other Ministers; which though it was im-

mediately refused at Amsterdam, as liable to the interpretations they so much feared, yet was likewise rejected by our merchants too, and another sent over, yet stronger than the first, in those parts wherein the Dutch were most sensible; though your Lordship seemed to think, the article I had transmitted would reach our aim till you proposed it to them.

Upon the new debates we engaged in, arrives the news of what we had suffered at Macassar; which our merchants made to be a formidable instance in the business depending, and of far more consequence than all they apprehended by Dutch forts and passes; and therefore immediately presented the King with their demand of restitution, together with some other particulars which we were fain to disown immediately, as against an express article of the treaty at Breda: and I had the blame of proposing all their demands to the Dutch, though the paper of them was sent to me without any distinction.

So soon as the point of Macassar was yielded us, which I thought would prove the most difficult of any, as of most importance, and was, I am sure, for a great while the most contested; and after the project of a general article was gained from the Dutch (against all their former resolutions) which was grounded upon these two points, that we desire no innovations, and will make no particular instances or complaints, in which they have ever offered us redress: our merchants seeing the matter draw near a fair issue, now seem resolved to end all with these two answers: that their restitution to Macassar (as Sir John Trevor writes) will be too dear bought by such an article as shall confirm upon us all the injuries we have complained of by forts, and passes, and treaties too; whereas the article as it is proposed by the Dutch (how-

ever defective) does not extend to any treaties to come, but only to the past; nor do the Dutch desire to sell us Macassar at the price of any such article; but had much rather restore it to us upon concluding the treaty, without any such article at all: nor do I know yet of the injuries in particular we have already complained of, either by forts, passes, or treaties, besides this of Macassar; but contrary have always been told, what we desired was rather for prevention than remedy. But next they say (as your Lordship tells me) they had rather be left as they are, with their pretensions fair and entire, than have them blasted for ever with a bad conclusion: whereas no conclusion they now make, upon what we have gained, and the redress of what they complained of in the marine treaty (though without this contested article) but will leave them and their pretensions in the same condition they were before: the same liberty still remaining upon the last article of the marine treaty, to appoint commissioners, and alter or add any thing, when both parties shall agree; and will be but like taking so much by advance, upon account of a greater debt. So that I am apt to conclude, from all these observations, that they who influence our merchants in this prosecution, either have no meaning this treaty should end fairly, and so they put it obstinately upon that single point, and in that form which they know will never be granted; or else they aim at gaining an occasion of raising new disputes with the Dutch, whenever they find a conjuncture for it; there seeming some reason for the Dutch opinion, that agreeing upon an article as ours propose it, we may fall into new contests upon the extent and interpretation of it whenever we please. If this last end be in the bottom of this business, and it be taken up or countenanced by his Majesty or his Ministers,

upon reason of state, and we make our provisions, and take all our measures accordingly; for ought I know it is a wise, and may prove an honourable counsel in time, at least if the present state of affairs in Christendom should change by any sudden or unexpected revolution. But if our merchants, or those who influence them in this matter, mean no such thing as a conclusion of the treaty; but only by the depending of such disputes to leave an unkindness and weakness in our alliance, which may in time shake the foundations of it, and make way for new measures on one side or other, which will in time prove destructive to both; I cannot but interpret this as the effect of their distaste or envy at the King's present Ministry, and the course of his counsels, which have not gained greater honour abroad, nor perhaps safety and good-will at home, by any thing than by our late alliances so renowned here, and thereby the stop we have given to the progress of the French greatness. And therefore it must come from the influence of some, who would be glad to see not only our alliance shaken or changed abroad, but our Ministry at home too; which I shall be sorry to see, till the King can find better hands for himself and the kingdom to place it in: and whenever that happens, as much as I am your Lordship's servant, I shall be very well contented, and so I dare say will you too. If your Lordship should imagine any particular envy or pique at me or my employment here may have contributed to the difficulties which have succeeded in this business; and that our merchants, or those that influence them, believe it would thrive better in any other hand, I will beg of you not to be swayed by considerations of kindness to me in a matter of public concernment; nor to fear, that whenever this employment falls you shall be troubled with me at home, as

great Ministers use to be with men out of office: for while the King's business goes well, it is not two straws matter whether such a body as I have any share in it or no.

And there is an end of all the reflections I have had upon the most troublesome and untoward business that, I thank God, I ever had in my life, or, I hope, shall ever have again: and perhaps I am mistaken in them all. However, if your Lordship can pardon this, you shall be sure not to be troubled in haste with any more of it from, my Lord, yours, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Aug. 7, N. S. 1669.

I was very glad to find your Lordship, in your last, upon your journey into the country, because I very much doubt whether the exercise or diversions you usually allow yourself, are what your health requires, and what your cares and troubles deserve. I am sure, in the prospect I have of them, I am so far from envying them with all their gay circumstances, that I think your Lordship has a very hard bargain of them altogether; unless it be one day made up to you by the glory and satisfaction of some great success in the pursuit you intend of his Majesty's and the kingdom's honour, safety, and happiness; which I doubt will need some stronger counsels than men seem at present disposed to: but this is none of my business.

I cannot give your Lordship any account of what you say is made a great matter of by somebody to a private hand, about the difficulties intended by Spain in the two last Swedish payments, with design of making new demands: I am only in pain at present to see the first payment finished, which is not yet arrived, but expected by the first courier.

When that is done, and the guaranty delivered by Sweden, as well as us and Holland, I shall be in no great fear besides that of the Spanish King's death, or of Spain falling into some agreement or other with France for the exchange of Flanders, by seeing so great a war still entailed upon it, and their neighbours unwilling to share so far in their dangers, as perhaps it were our and the Dutch interest to do. I am sure in the present posture of that monarchy, if I were of their council, I should be of advice to do it whenever France would be content upon it to quit all pretence to the rest of the Spanish dominions: and perhaps it were wise for France to get Flanders by that or any other quiet condition: for within two years after he were well possessed of that little spot of ground, I doubt no Prince or State in Christendom would pretend to dispute any more with him then, than the Spaniard does now. But these are events to be considered by men in greater spheres than I am, and perhaps deserve to be a little more thought on than they are.

I have received and returned a visit with the French Ambassador; so that we are upon as good terms as can be. My Lord Culpepper passed this way last week; and upon that occasion I cannot but desire your Lordship to let me know more particularly from you, how I am to treat any English Lord as to the *hand* and *door* in my own house: for though the French example is given me, as to all public Ministers, yet there is nothing specified as to other persons; and if I am to follow it in this and other particulars, I desire to have something from his Majesty's positive commands to bear me out, as the French Ambassadors have, and as methinks the case deserves: since I am told, the innovation began in Monsieur Cominges's time in England, and that, before the orders he received

in it, he gave the hand to all gentlemen of quality in England, and to all persons of great quality or families, though of his own nation: and that my Lord St. Albans ever gave it to all English Lords while he was Ambassador at Paris: though it seems my Lord Holles changed it upon the French Ambassador's doing so in England.

I know not what my father said to your Lordship concerning the trifle you mention in the end of your letter: and I am sure you might very well have spared yourself the trouble of taking notice of it; as I may do of giving your Lordship any farther assurances of what will never fail you; which is the hearty passion and truth wherewith I am and ever shall be, my Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

To Sir Charles Wolsely.

Sir, Hague, Aug. 10, N. S. 1669.

I RECEIVED some time since the favour of a letter from you of May 9th; but hearing by your son that you had soon after left the town, and finding how ill fortune one of mine had met with in lying five or six months before it came to your hands, I omitted the acknowledging yours till I might presume on finding you sooner by my father's conveyance, to whose care I have committed this, upon information of his journey by your house into Ireland. Were it not for acquitting my debt, and assuring you of your son's health, and welcome here while it may be any ease to you or improvement to him, I should have little to bear me out in giving you this trouble: for the return of your compliments would but multiply them between us; and that is a sort of exercise in which I am soon out of breath, as having but a small stock of those more refined imaginations which are required to make

up any great abilities in that kind. Therefore I shall end an empty ill letter as soon as I can; but not without the professions of my being, Sir, your most humble servant.

To the Spanish Ambassador.

Hague, Aug. 13, N. S. 1669.

My Lord,

I was in hopes the affair now under debate could have met with no reply to what I writ yesterday to your Excellency: but having observed the contrary by yours of this evening, I am obliged to say, that I thought, upon our last conference, I had left your Excellency entirely persuaded, that the Constable was in the wrong to raise a difficulty about the first payment upon the concert proposed, because there was no mention of it in the act signed by your Excellency. I shall say farther, that you have reason at present, if in that act you shall find (either expressed or implied) these words of the guaranty, Y *los instrumentos necessarios dependientes de ella.* If these words are not there, the party contracting cannot bring them in by any interpretation of his own, without consent of the other party, or sentence of some arbitrator: besides, that this of the concert does not absolutely or of necessity import any thing to the security of the guaranty: for, provided we execute it as the wants of Spain require, it is of no importance whether it be done with such or such a number of troops, either of one or

A l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne.

De la Haye, le 13 *Août,* *S. N.* 1669.

Monsieur,

J'Avois esperé que l'affaire dont il s'agit à present ne trouveroit plus d'obstacles, & qu'il n'y auroit point de replique à ce que j'écrivis hier à V. E. Mais comme j'ay vû le contraire par votre lettre écrite ce soir même, je me crois obligé de dire, qu'il m'avoit paru que le fruit de nôtre derniere conference avoit été de laisser V. E. pleinement persuadée, que le Connétable de Castille avoit tort de susciter une difficulté touchant le premier payement sur le concert proposé, puisqu' il n'en est point fait mention dans l'acte signé par V. E. J' ajouteray à cela, que vous auriez aujourdhuy raison, si dans cet acte vous trouviez ou exprimés ou sousentendus les mots de guarantie, Y los instrumentos necessarios dependientes de ella. *Si pareils mots n'y sont pas, un des partis contractans ne peut pas les y faire entrer par une interpretation de sa façon, à moins que le consentement de l'autre parti intervienne, ou que de part & d'autre on convienne de s'en rapporter à la decision d'un arbitre; sans compter que celuy de concert luy-même n'importe point absolument ni necessairement à la securité de la guarantie: car pourvû que nous l'executions selon le besoin des affaires d'Espagne, il importera*

the other nation, since that is to be concerted according to the different interests or conveniences of each party: and it may happen that the attack from France may be so powerful, that it will be necessary for each of us to assist you with all the forces we can raise or equip, according to the general guaranty, and not according to any concert of forces specified in the treaty.

peu qu'avec un tel ou un tel nombre de troupes, ou que ces troupes appartiennent à une des deux nations plutôt qu'à l'autre; car si l'on doit agir de concert c'est selon les divers interêts & les differentes commodités de chacune des parties. Et même il peut arriver, que les invasions & les attaques de la France seroient si redoubtables, qu'il sera necessaire que chacun de nous rassemble tout ce qu'il peut de forces sur pied, ayant égard à l'intention de la guarantie en general, & non à quelques cas particuliers specifiés dans le traité.

I do not accuse Spain of any want of sincerity in all this affair, but only of readiness and freeness to consent to, and accomplish what was absolutely necessary for engaging Sweden in the preservation of the peace. And on the other side, your Excellency cannot accuse the sincerity of the King my Master; who at the lowest of your affairs, and when Flanders was desperate, gave the first helping hand (when the Princes nearest allied to the Crown of Spain would have nothing to do in it) contracted his alliances last winter, sent a fleet to sea the summer following, sent Ambassadors to Aix la Chapelle, founded the triple alliance, and solicited other Princes to join in it: and all this only to begin and procure a peace, wherein neither his dominions nor people were concerned; nor (with permission of great reasoners) had any prospect of future dangers, but what would concern the empire and all the rest of Christendom,

Je n'accuse pas l'Espagne d'avoir manqué de sincerité dans tout le cours de cette affaire, mais d'avoir manqué de promptitude & franchise à accomplir ce qui leur étoit absolument necessaire pour engager la Suéde dans la conservation de la paix; sur cela je diray aussi à V. E. qu'elle ne peut pas accuser la sincerité du Roy mon Maitre; lors que l'état de vos affaires étoit le plus deploré, & que tous les Païs-bas étoient comme au desespoir, il a le premier mis la main à l'ouvrage (quand les Princes les plus proches de la Couronne d'Espagne n'y vouloient pas toucher) tout l'hyver dernier sa Majesté a employé à faire traiter ses alliances, & à faire équiper une flote qui a paru en mer l'été suivante; il a envoyé ses Ambassadeurs à Aix la Chapelle, il a cementé la triple alliance, & fait soliciter divers Princes de s'y joindre en plus grand nombre: tout cela dans la veue d'acheminer & de procurer une paix, qui ne rendoit rien à ses états ni à ses peuples, puisque les uns

before his Majesty or his kingdoms could be exposed to it.

& les autres étoient à couvert des ravages de la guerre. Car malgré tout ce qu'il plait aux grands discoureurs d'insinuer & de publier, les dangers qui menacent l'Angleterre, & que la politique a dû prévoir, ces dangers regardoient & l'empire en particulier, & tout a Chrêtienté en géneral, de plus près que sa Majesté & ses royaumes.

For what your Excellency desires to know, why Monsieur Marechal having said, there would be no difficulty in concluding and ratifying the concert, there should notwithstanding prove to be any in doing it at present; I will tell you, that the two Ministers of Sweden, in all that has passed between us, have not only said, but still persist, that they were ready to enter into the said concert, and intended to do so before Monsieur Marechal goes from hence (upon which however he is extremely pressed), but that they never intended to enter into it before the payment of the first subsidies, which ought to have been made upon the mutual delivery of the ratification; saying withal, that they would never allow that this money ought to pass for payment of the particular aids they were to give Spain by virtue of the triple alliance. I have always found them so stiff upon that point, that I have been a long time in despair of overcoming their nicety: it remains therefore to Spain to consider whether the guaranty of three such powers be worth giving this little satisfaction to Sweden; and whether it would not

V. E. demande, pourquoy Monsieur Marechal ayant dit qu'il n'y auroit aucune difficulté à conclure & à ratifier le concert, il s'y en trouve pourtant aujourdhuy; je vous diray sur cela, que les deux Ministres de Suede sur tous les points discutés entre eux & nous non seulement nous ont dit, mais ils persistent toujours à dire, qu'ils étoient prêts à entrer dans le dit concert, qu'ils avoient même prétendu le faire avant le départ de Monsieur Marechal, quelque pressé qu'il paroisse; que leur pensée n'a jamais été d'attendre à faire cette demarche que le payement des premiers subsides, fixé au tems que l'échange de la ratification seroit delivrée. Ils ajoutent à cela, qu'ils ne consentiront jamais, que cet argent puisse passer pour le prix & la recompense qu'ils s'engageroient de donner à l'Espagne en vertu de la triple alliance. Je les ay trouvés si roids sur cet article, que j'ay desesperé il y a longtems de vaincre leur delicatesse. Il reste donc pour l'Espagne à examiner & à bien peser, si la guarantie de trois puissances telles que celles qui se presentent, ne vout pas bien qu'on cede à la Suede la legère satisfaction qu'elle demande. Je voudrois que l'Es-

be more to the purpose, when the second term expires to press us then upon the concert, if you shall not see it finished: but by all means to procure as soon as possible, that the general guaranty be put into your hands: and I do not doubt, but according to the dispositions I see on all sides, that the concert will quickly follow, though your Excellency should no more concern yourself with urging us to what we are drawn by the interest of every particular party as well as the public.

I wish your Excellency health and happiness; and am, &c.

pagne considerât, s'il ne seroit pas plus à propos d'attendre à nous presser sur le concert, que le terme du second payement fût écheu, si tout n'étoit entierement conclu; mais en tout cas de procurer au plutôt que la guarantie génerale vous soit mise en mains. Je ne doute pas, veu les dispositions où je trouve tous les ésprits, que le concert ne suive immediatement, & sans que V. E. ait la peine de nous presser davantage: en cette rencontre nôtre propre interêt se trouve joint à celuy du publique.

Je souhaite à V. E. la santé & la prosperité qu'elle desire; & suis, &c.

To the Spanish Ambassador.

Hague, Aug. 14,
My Lord, N. S. 1669.

I RECEIVED your Excellency's letter last night, as I was making my dispatches for England, in which I immediately inclosed it, that the King my Master may see in what this affair has ended. For the complaints your Excellency is pleased to make of me, as having hindered instead of advancing an agreement so much desired, I shall not defend myself with words, if my actions have not done it; nor think myself obliged, whatever has passed in this affair, to give account of it to any body but the King my Master. I am not the first Minister, whose services to Spain have had no returns but of reproach and ingratitude, which I shall not lay to heart, since our part is only

Al Ambaxador de Espanna.

De la Haya, Aug. 14,
Exmo. Senr. S.N. 1669.

Anoche recebi la de V. E. standome en mis dispachos para la Inglatiera, en los quales la he luego encerrado, para que vea el Rey mi Sennor en que punto a parado este negocio. Por lo que se va V. E. quexando de mi, como el que atrasava el concierto tan desseado, en lugar de encaminarlo; yo ne me voy defendiendo con razones, si las obras no me defienden. Sea lo que fuera de mi, que no tengo de responder a ninguno de lo que hago en esta materia, si no al Rey mi Sennor, y no soy yo el primero Ministro a quien aviendo bien merecido de Espanna, se lo reconoce con desagradecerle todos sus officios; pero no importa, porque no tenemos nos-otros otra parte en los negocios, si no de

to obey. However, I cannot but think it had been more prudence in the Spanish Ministers to acknowledge all the King my Master has treated and done for eighteen months past in favour of that Crown, than to accuse his Majesty upon every occasion, either to have done nothing, or only what he found convenient to himself: since the true way of engaging a generous mind in new obligations, is to be thankful for the old, and rather encrease than lessen what a King and a friend has done, at least with so much desire of succeeding well.

Since your Excellency is pleased to give so wrong a turn to what I writ with so good intentions, I will say nothing to excuse it, but still repeat what I said before; that to me it seems more reasonable that you should press the Swedish Ministers upon this agreement, if you think the time of the second subsidies not yet run out: because it is plain, that the first payment (by your own act) was to be made upon the signing the ratifications of the guaranty, without any other condition; and there being three distinct acts from the three parties, your Excellency has very artificially made mention both of that of the guaranty, and the other of concert; whereas that of the guaranty ought only to be given to Spain, and that of concert, but communicated as an agreement between the three parties entered into the triple alliance. With all this, your Excellency may see,

obediencia. A lo menos me pareçe que los Ministros de Espanna hizieran mas prudentemente de agradecer al Rey mi Sennor, loque ha negociado y obrado despues de anno y medio passados en favor de las cosas de esta Corona, que no de accusar su Magestad a cada punto, o de no haver hecho nada, o averlo todo hecho por su propria convenientia; porque el verdadero medio para empennar un espiritu generoso en nuevos beneficios, es agradecerle algo de los passados, y mas preste agrandecer que no yr siempre disminuyenod, lo que un Rey amigo a hecho a la menos con buena voluntad.

Puesque V. E. se gusta de tomar a tuerto loque yo he escritto a derecho, yo no le he de impedir, pero me voy rediziendo, que a mi pareçer tuviera mas razon de apretar los Ministros de Suecia sobre este concierto, si veyra que no se havra acabado al segundo termino de los subsidios; porque es cosa evidente por su propriò acto, que el primero pagamiento se ha de cumplir con la extradition de las ratificationes de la guarencia sin otra condicion; y que siendo tres actos distinctos de las tres partes, por esto V. E. a hecho mencion de los actos de guarentia, y otro de concierto como V. E. va concluyendo aora con mucha agudeza, porque el acto de concierto no se devia dar a la Espanna como el de la guarentia, si no communicarla solamente como un accuerdo entre las partes de la triple alliança. Con todo esta muy bien pudiera ver V. E. que en diziendo esto he dicho tan bien que no havia duda, que despues de haver dado

that when I said this, I told you at the same time, that there was no doubt, after having given the guaranty, and that the Swedes had received their first payment, the agreement would be concerted too: and this I still believe from the interest the Swedes have in it, to secure the other payments; and Holland yet more either to preserve the peace, or in case a war should happen, to secure a strong and powerful defence from Flanders, which, next to their own towns, is what they are nearest concerned in. I must repeat again what I said of his Majesty, that if the Swedes and the Dutch can find the way of agreeing this affair, it will never be laid to the King my Master's charge, if they do not see a good end of it. But I have entered deep enough into the thoughts of the Swedes upon this point, to be absolutely of opinion, that they will never consent to the agreement, till they have received their first payment. Monsieur Marechal having only heard some expression of your Excellency's upon this affair, came immediately to desire I would go to you, and inform myself of the truth of it, and bring a positive answer from you; swearing, that if this were your resolution, the Swedes could very well content themselves without the money: and that for his part, he was resolved to leave the Hague to-morrow; and about four or five days ago, Monsieur Appleboom sent his secretary to tell me, he had heard something to this pur-

las guarentias, y recebido la Suecia el dinero del primero termino, se acabara el concierto, y lo creo tan bien porque veo a la Suecia interessada en ello por asseguarse de los otros terminos, y tan bien por lo que espera en sucoediendo la guerra y la Olanda sta aun mas interessada para assegurar tanto mas la paz, o en caso de guerra une fuerte y bastante defensa del pays, baxo como tocando les muy apretadamente y mas que otra cosa despues de sus proprias villas. Y lo que he dicho del Rey mi Sennor, lo digo otra vez que accordando se la Suecia y la Olanda en las particularidades del concierto, no tendra a su Magestad de no accobarlo. Pero aviendome yo harto escudrinnado los sentimentos de los Suecos en este negocio, soy enteramente del pareçer que nunca han de tocar al concierto antes de haver recebido el primero termino; porque el Sennor Marechal aviendo entendido solamente alguna cosita que V. E. avia dicho a este proposito, me venia luego supplicar dexyr me a V. E. di informar me dello, y tirar una respuesta caregorica sobra esta materia; jurando tal fuessa la resolution de V. E. que la Suecia se passaria muy bien del dinero; y que para el stava determinado de salir la mannana de la Haya. Y no ay mas que quatro o cinco dias que el Sennor Appleboom me ha empiado su secretario para quexarse de la misma manera di haver la segunda vez entendido tal cosa de V. E. en ello. Pero si puede disponer y los Suecos y los Olandezes de otra manera (como me pareçe immaginar en su car-

pose, of your Excellency; and to complain of it. But if you can otherwise dispose both the Swedes and the Dutch, as to me it seems by your letter you imagine, I shall extremely rejoice at your success, and applaud your diligence, though you are so little pleased with mine.

ta) para mi me huelgare de su successo, y mucho he de alabar sus diligentias, aunque tan poco se contenta de las mias.

I cannot tell how I came to engage so far in a language I know so imperfectly: if you do understand me, it is all I desire. God preserve your Excellency many years. I kiss your Excellency's hands, and am

No se como me he empannado tan adelante en mi geregonça de Espannol. V. E. le ha de pardonnar, con que le hecha de entender, basta. Guarde Dios a V. E. los annos que la desseo.

Your most humble servant.

B. L. M. D. V. E. &c.

Aoust, ... 1669.

Sentence donnée sur l'affaire de Portugal & de la Hollande, par l'Ambassadeur de l'Angleterre, à qui les deux parties avoient remis la decision finale de leurs differences, non pas comme Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, mais comme Chevalier Temple.

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Portugal & Monsieur le Pensionnaire de Witt ayant trouvé à propos de communiquer à l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre les points qui ont esté si longtems en dispute sur l'accommodement proposé entre le Portugal & la Hollande;

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre a trouvé sur la premiere conference avec les deux parties, que la principale difficulté qui restoit à demêler, estoit sur la maniere de faire les deux millions cinq cent mille cruzados qui estoient accordés par le Portugal à la Hollande, payable à dix payements égaux; c'est à dire, deux cent mille cruzados par an.

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre avoit aussi remarqué, dans la mesme conference, que les deux parties estoient d'accord que lesdits payements se feroient

par les droits du sel de Setuval, & qu'à cet effet chacun d'eux avoit proposé son expedient, par lequel ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre voyoit que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Portugal se proposoit que lesdits payements entiers se feroient par l'assignation desdits droits du sel de Setuval pour le terme de dixsept ou dixhuit ans: et que Monsieur le Pensionnaire de Witt se faisoit fort que ladite debte se pourroit entierement satisfaire selon son expedient par lesdits droits au sel de Setuval dans le terme de vingt & deux, ou vingt & trois ans.

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant aussi remarqué que l'accommodement sur aucun desdits expedients estoit desesperé pour les difficultez sur la maniere de payer les interests, dont les deux parties ne pouvoient aucunement venir au bout, a trouvé bon de proposer comme un expedient entre deux, que le Portugal assigneroit à la Hollande les droits du sel de Setuval pour l'éspace de vingt ans en satisfaction entiere de ladite debte, si le Portugal ne trouvoit pas que la Hollande eut reçeu sa satisfaction entiere en moindre tems; & qu'en tel cas ledit terme seroit retranché après telle satisfaction achevée.

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant proposé cet expedient à chacun des deux parties, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Portugal a pris du tems pour le considerer; & Monsieur le Pensionnaire l'a accepté sur la condition suivante; sçavoir, si dans aucune année dudit terme, lesdits droits du sel de Setuval ne monteront pas à la valeur de cent cinquante mille cruzados, qu'en ce cas le Portugal dans l'année suivante suppléera en sel valeur de ce qu'on trouvera avoir manqué à ladite l'année précedente: et à fin que les payements se pourroient parachever en moindre temps, le Portugal s'obligeroit de ne hausser pas le prix du sel pour les Hollandois, ni de l'abaisser pour les autres.

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant commu-

niqué le mesme soir à l'Ambassadeur de Portugal ladite acceptation sous la condition mentionnée, il s'accorda à l'expedient de l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, & aussi à la condition du Pensionnaire, pour ce qui estoit de ni hausser ni abaisser le prix du sel: mais pour l'autre partie de la condition, il la refusoit entierement, à cause que la Hollande, estant asseurée par là de recevoir en sel tout ce qui manqueroit chaque année sur les droits du sel à l'accomplissement de cent cinquante mille cruzados, se pouvoit departir de tirer dudit Setuval si grande quantité du sel, qu'elle estoit accoutumée de tirer chaque année par le passé; et que par là le royaume de Portugal se trouveroit appauvri à faut dudit debit ordinaire du sel, & le Prince se trouveroit chargé d'autant qu'il plairoit à la Hollande sur les manquements des droits annuels.

Sur ces entrefaits les deux parties estant entrées encore dans une conference avec l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, & ne s'y pouvant pas accorder non plus que dans la précedente, sur aucun des expedients proposés, ils ont à la fin trouvé bon de convenir ensemble que la decision finale de toute cette dispute se feroit par l'arbitrage absolu dudit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, pourveu que l'Ambassadeur de Portugal consentiroit que la valeur du sel se regleroit entierement par les cruzados, sans aucun egard à la valeur des reys sur laquelle il y a eu aussi beaucoup de contraverse entre les deux parties.

En vertu de cette convention, ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant meurement consideré tout ce que dessus, & aussi l'interest de ces deux nations, aussi bien que de leurs voisins & alliez, que cette affaire si longtems debattue, se puisse enfin terminer à l'aimable, & ne tirer pas aigreur entre les deux nations par des disputes ulterieures; declare & juge que le premier expedient proposé par ledit Ambassadeur touchant les vingt années ayant esté déja accepté par

les deux parties, demeurera firme & valable avec ces conditions, que la Hollande sera obligée de tirer de Setuval toutes les années durant ledit terme, autant de sel qu'elle a tiré dans aucune des dix années dernierement passées: mais qu'en cas que par ledit debit du sel, les droits à Setuval ne monteront pas pourtant jusques à cent cinquante mille cruzados dans aucune année dudit terme de vingt ans, que le Portugal suppéelra en sel l'année suivante ce qui aura manqué à ladite somme, pourveu que ledit manquement n'excede pas la valeur de trente mille cruzados.

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre juge aussi équitable que la Hollande ne pretendra autre satisfaction de la debte, hormis lesdits droits du sel de Setuval pour ledit terme de vingt années.

Que la valeur du sel sera contée par cruzados, sans égard à quelque autre monnoye, puisqu'il n'y a eu mention dans le traité d'aucune autre espèce.

Et qu'en cas que Portugal trouvera à propos de decharger quelque part de la debte par quelque autre moyen, la Hollande retranchera aussi ledit terme en proportion.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 2, N. S. 1669.

Having received his Majesty's letter to the Constable from your Lordship's hands, I thought it was fit for me to return his answer by the same way: and, that not having matter enough to furnish two letters this ordinary, your Lordship would be content to receive the whole trouble of what I have to say, since you were of course to have a part of it.

I received at the same time with this of his Majesty, the other for myself; and the same express brought another for the States; I doubt, all in the same style; by which your Lordship will under-

stand the ill state of our general business here. Monsieur Marechal came yesterday to visit me, and told me, his errand was to know whether I could propose any new way of drawing their satisfaction from Spain; if not, whether I would give any hopes of their having it from his Majesty and the States: and if neither of these, what I could propose as the best way * *pour sortir de cette affaire de la meilleure grace, & sans trop de bruit.* I told him, for the first, I was at an end of my own invention, but should not fail, however, of consulting with the Dutch Commissioners, whom I had not seen since our answer from the Constable. For the second, I knew he was so sensible of Sweden's having no right to demand of us more than our good offices in this particular, that he would never think fit to press us any farther; and those he should not fail of. For the last, it was a point I was very loth to think of; but when it was necessary, I would join with him in that consideration, but would fain believe the affair was not yet desperate. He fell into great complaints of the Spanish Ministers here, and of their laying several discourses to his charge which he never made; particularly of their being willing to take a verbal engagement from Spain for thirty thousand crowns a month in time of war; which he protested was contrary to his orders, that were, to stand firmly upon having assurance for the whole sixty thousand pretended from his Majesty and the States, and leave us to find our security from Spain, with whom they had not had any thing to do in the whole business: but he said, he would tell me in confidence, that they had represented the impossibility of this pretension to their Court, and the necessity of taking the assurances for thirty thousand from Spain; and expect answer upon this

* *To get out of this affair with the best grace, and without too much noise.*

point by the very first letters: and in case of their Court's consenting to it, he was in hopes all difficulties would be overcome; for we might finish the concert before the payment of the money, and give the Spanish Ministers assurance of our signing it suddenly after: and though Holland had hitherto declared against assuring any part of the sixty thousand crowns without real security from Spain, yet his Majesty having resolved to assure Sweden of his part, Holland could not avoid following his measure and example.

I easily perceived the first part of this discourse was brought in only to usher the last; and to sound me about his Majesty's intention in this point: and so I told him, I did not remember to have heard his Majesty had ever declared any such resolution: That there were indeed several projects framed by several hands about that time, some of which contained what he said: but I asked him whether he had ever seen any of them signed? He confessed he had not, but their Court ever looked upon it as a thing agreed to by his Majesty. I said I wondered at it, because they could not but consider his Majesty as very little more concerned in this affair than themselves: and being so, it would be very hard for him to engage in the defence of Spain without any hopes of reimbursement for his own part; and withal to furnish Sweden with so great a share of the subsidies they expected upon a bare promise from Spain of repaying it after the war ended. That, for my part, having not then been in England, I would not affirm his Majesty had not agreed to it, because he seemed to affirm he had: but if he had not, I thought it would be a very hard thing to expect it from him. He replied; he would not dispute whether it were hard or no, but was sure, in Sweden they made no manner of doubt upon it; and, that in his instruction,

which mentions their soliciting our and Holland's assuring the whole sum, there are these words, *the King of* England *having consented to assure one fourth part.* That if there were a question upon this, though their Court should consent to accept an act from Spain for thirty thousand, yet he saw there would be another difficulty less surmountable than all the rest; and so looked upon the affair as desperate. But having frankly communicated to me his instructions whenever I desired it, he entreated me freely to communicate mine to him upon this particular, that they might know what to trust to. I told him frankly that I had none upon it; that his Majesty, being so near, had only ordered me, that when they and Holland should be agreed about the particulars of the concert, that I should communicate it to him, and should receive a sudden answer upon it.

We broke up this conference very friendly; resolving only that I should discourse with Monsieur de Witt upon the whole state of our affair, while they expected their next orders from Sweden, after which we should all have a conference together, and take our last measures.

This day Monsieur de Witt came to me upon the same occasion; shewing me the Constable's letter to the States, which contained nothing more than mine from him, besides desiring them to employ their good offices towards the Ministers of England and Sweden for the accomplishment of this affair. After having asked me two or three times what I thought was to be done; and I protesting I knew not; at last he said, that though he was never for plaistering upon an ill wall, and he was confident, if Sweden trusted to Spain for the thirty thousand crowns a month, they would never be paid, and so their assistance would fail in case of a war unless Spain gave such a security as

might certainly raise the money; yet considering that the very reputation of this business concluded might very well prevent a war, might hinder Spain's taking their measures with France to our disadvantage, and, in case of a war, Sweden's having received the subsidies already due would hinder them from taking any measures with France, though they should not furnish their assistance to Spain for want of the future subsidies; for his part, he could wish the thing done: and though it had ever been against his opinion, yet if his Majesty should think fit to assure Sweden of a fourth part, he believed the States would be induced to do the same, rather than endanger the breaking of the business.

After I had deduced to him the great differences there were in his Majesty's concernment and theirs upon this matter; and how hard it were for his Majesty, that had his seas and fleets to defend him, to contribute in all points as much as they who had the French armies at their gates, so soon as Flanders was over-run: and finding him still firm, as I have done so often before, that this State could never go other than even paces with us in this matter, nor look upon themselves as nearer concerned in the greatness of France than other neighbours, 'till they saw the danger fall directly this way, I at last told him plainly what I had told Monsieur Marechal before, concerning my instruction: which he received with his usual temper, and said we must refer all to a conference with the Swedish Ministers; and in the mean time each of us should think what expedient is to be found in the case.

Concerning our business of Surinam, I am in great hope yet to come to some good end of it, though they will not hear of it in point of right as to his Majesty's intercession; but that it is fit to

give his Majesty greater testimonies of their deference than in such a matter as this, is already the declared opinion of Mr. V. B. the Pensioner of Haerlaem, and some others I have pursued: and Monsieur de Witt promises me, if those two will second him, he will endeavour to bring the province of Holland to it, this assembly; and then we may deal with Zealand, I hope, well enough by one way or other. The paper Mr. V. B. has made me expect two or three posts, upon the account of the places we have specified in the Indies, he promises shall not fail me by the next post; and should have come sooner, but that he was resolved to be the most exactly informed that could be in all particulars.

Monsieur de Witt has writ to those of the East-India Company at Amsterdam in pursuit of your Lordship's letter, and Sir John Worden's desire, concerning one Cary coming over to offer an end of a suit upon the pretensions of Courtin's heir: their answer is, that I might be secure they will give no money for an end of that business, since all farther pretensions are clearly cut off by the treaty at Breda: and I find Monsieur de Witt is of the same opinion.

Yesterday died Monsieur Weymenun, a great man in this State, but very little bewailed.

I believe your Lordship may hear reports of discontents growing, and parties changing here: but I doubt it is not in discourse farther than among those that are in the skirts of business; which makes me hope there may be no more ground for all that is so lavishly talked of here; and of the same kind among us in England: if it should be otherwise, I am at least glad to be ignorant of it, being of so much disreputation abroad to our counsels: and all the persons in consideration here, I am sure, are sorry for what they hear of it, professing to be

as much concerned in our union as their own; and placing all their hopes of taking any constant measures with us upon the steadiness of his Majesty's late counsels, and the dispositions of our present Ministers, before whose time Monsieur de Witt says, * *Que ce n'estoit que fluctuation dans les conseils d'Angleterre.* I am your Lordship's, &c.

To the Constable of Castile.

Hague, Sept. 4,
My Lord, N. S. 1669.

I SENT the other day in the Spanish Ambassador's pacquet, a letter from the King my Master to your Excellency in favour of Monsieur Taaf; and am obliged to second that affair by all my good offices, though I hope they will not be necessary; and I hope that this gentleman shall not be reckoned the less capable to serve his master, for having already well served his friend.

I cannot let pass this occasion without representing to your Excellency the undoubted necessity there is, to give order with all speed for the payment of the 200,000 crowns to the Ministers of Sweden, who have expected them with so much patience, and are ready to deliver into the Spanish Ambassador's hands the ratifications of the guaranty, jointly with me and the States General. They assure me also, that they are ready to enter into a particular concert of forces, as soon as this affair is finished; but are resolved not to mix

Au Connétable de Castile.

De la Haye, le 4 Sept.
Monsieur, S. N. 1669.

J'Envoyai l'autre jour dans le pacquet de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, une lettre du Roy mon Maitre à V. E. en faveur de Monsieur Taaf; je me crois obligé de l'aider de tous mes bons offices, mais je croy qu'ils ne luy sont pas necessaires, & que ce gentilhomme n'en sera pas jugé moins digne & moins capable de servir son maître, pour avoir si bien servi son ami.

Je ne puis laisser passer cette occasion sans representer à V. E. qu'il est d'une necessité indispensable d'expedier incessamment des ordres pour faire toucher aux Ministres de Suede les 200,000 écus qu'ils ont jusqu'icy attendus avec tant de patience. Ils sont prêts de delivrer entre les mains de l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne les ratifications de la guarantie conjointement avec moy & les Etats Géneraux. Ils m'ont aussi assuré qu'ils étoient tout prêts à entrer dans un concert particulier pour fournir un secours de forces; que pour cela ils n'attendoient que de voir finir

* *That there was nothing but wavering in the counsels of England.*

one with the other; and are so ill satisfied with some difficulties that the Spanish Ambassador has raised upon this matter, that I believe it will not be possible to keep them here two days longer, if your Excellency sends them an answer not according to the act signed by the said Ambassador, and since ratified by the King of Spain; that is to say, to order the payment of the money upon the mutual delivery of the guaranty. This is what they told me two days since; and may perhaps ruin an affair that has been so long negotiated, and brought into the port through so many difficulties.

cette premiere affaire; & qu'ils étoient resolus de ne point mêler l'une avec l'autre. Ils sont au reste si mal satisfaits de quelques difficultez que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne leur a faites sur ce premier article, que je ne croy pas qu'il soit possible de les retenir deux jours icy après que V. E. se sera expliquée sur cette affaire, & que nous aurons reçu sa reponse, supposé que cette reponse ne s'accorde pas à l'acte signé par le dit Ambassadeur, & depuis ratifié par le Roy d'Espagne, c'est à sçavoir de faire conter l'argent sur l'extradition de la guarantie. Voilà ce qu'ils m'ont dit de depuis deux jours, & ce qui pourroit bien faire aller en fumée une affaire si long tems negociée, & menée au port à travers tant de difficultez.

Your Excellency will judge better than any body, how you can answer to the Court of Spain, and to all Christendom, the loss of so great an occasion for establishing the security of the one and the repose of the other. For all this depends upon your resolutions, to which the three confederates, as well as so many others, will entirely attribute any misfortune that shall arrive. And as I have not failed since the beginning of this affair to contribute all my cares to it, so I would not be wanting towards the end, to represent the pressing necessity of this conjuncture. It is left to your Excellency to make what use of it you please; from whose conduct every one will form presages, good or ill, to

V. E. sentira mieux que personne, qu'elle se rend responsable & à la Couronne d'Espagne, & à toute la Chrêtienté de la perte d'une si grande occasion, qui establissoit la sureté de l'une, & le répos de l'autre. Car, c'est de vos resolutions que tout cela va dependre; & c'est aussi sur elles seules que le trois confederez, ainsi que tant d'autres, vont rejetter les malheurs qui suivront du peu de succès de nos negotiations. Comme dès le commencement je n'ay épargné ni veilles ni soins pour cette grande affaire, je n'ay pas voulu manquer sur la fin à faire une derniere demarche, qui est, de representer à V. E. toute l'importance des conjonctures qui s'offrent encore à nous, mais qui sont prêtes à nous échapper. Cè sera à V. E. à en user

the affairs of Spain. I am your Excellency's, &c.

comme il luy plaira: on tirera des mesures qu'il va prendre, des présages certains pour le bon ou le mauvais état des affaires d'Espagne. Je suis de V. E. &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 11, N. S. 1669.

I HAVE this day received your Lordship's of the 21st past, and having none by me from Mr. Secretary Trevor, shall presume to return in an answer to your Lordship's that little I have to say by this post: for all at present is here at a stand in our business of the alliance, and when it will proceed again depends wholly upon his Majesty, do what I can. Since the last post the Spanish Ambassador, the Baron d'Isola, Monsieur Marechal, and Monsieur de Witt, have been severally with me to know what I will propose, or what I will consent to, for an expedient in this matter. The two first would fain have something from me to work upon, and I entertain them with complaints of the Spanish ill usage towards us, having proposed at London not only to indemnify us in what they projected there concerning his Majesty's engaging to the Swede, but likewise a share of his own charge likely to arise upon a war: all which, ever since the peace, they have been content to forget, and now would put us upon a necessity of engaging to advance the Swedish subsidies. I farther represented to the Spanish Ambassador the imprudence of their councils in raising this difficulty in the first payment to the Swedes, by the easiness whereof they might have possessed themselves of the guaranty, and thereby entered into confidence with Sweden, secured them from thinking of any other measures, and pursued the finishings of our work,

by any particular concerts, without danger or unkindness.

I urged all this so far, that though the Spanish Ambassador persisted in affirming that the orders from Spain to the Constable, as well as to himself, were positive in the case of not paying the money without the particular concert; yet he at last joined with me very freely in blaming the weakness and unhappiness of the Spanish councils upon these particulars, and wondering how the Marquis Castel-Rodrigo could suffer the dispatch of such orders. The next morning the Baron d'Isola came to me, and entertained me with long discourses of what passed between him and the Spanish Ambassador in consequence of what I had said the night before: and the sum of all was, as I imagined, to sound me whether I would be induced to enter the concert, upon the Spanish Ambassador's promising me an indemnity from Spain for the hundred and fifty thousand crowns a month insisted upon by the Swedes to be secured to them from the King. Upon this insinuation I resolved to take no hold at all; because if his Majesty should ever resolve to promise the advance of the hundred and fifty thousand crowns in case of a war, I thought it would be better trusting to gain his satisfaction by negotiating in Spain to that purpose, upon the grounds given of so many overtures by the Spanish Ministers both at London, Brussels, and here, than by taking a promise or instrument here from this Ambassador (as the Baron says) beyond his power, and especially whose secrecy in it we cannot much reckon upon; whereas the publishing any such thing may have ill consequences of jealousy between us and the Dutch. Therefore I contented myself to tell the Baron that I was at the end of my line, and could proceed no farther than I had

done already: that his Majesty had ordered me to give the guaranty in conjunction with the other confederates, upon payment of two hundred thousand crowns, according to the Spanish Ambassador's own act: that he thought the Spaniards had no right to press us upon the particular concert, which yet he would be ready to consider of when the confederates thought fit; and in the mean time was very sincerely resolved to perform the guaranty if there should be occasion for it.

Monsieur Marechal pressed me something harder upon entering into a conference with him and the Dutch Deputies, which I promised before my last, but have excused till Monday next, in the mean time to prepare matter for it. He desired to know if I had yet any powers to promise the hundred and fifty thousand crowns projected at London (as he ever insists to be secured by his Majesty), without which he did not see any thing to be done here: I told him directly, I had not. He then asked me to what end we should confer, since without that the concert could not be framed, nor, consequently, the present money paid: and complained that the want of this concert was of present prejudice to them alone, though it depended equally upon the consent of the other confederates. I answered him, that till I received new orders, he should never find me vary from those I had so often told him; which were to see first in what proposals Sweden and Holland could agree, and then represent it to his Majesty, whose answer could be of no long delay; and that I suppose will be the fruit of our conference. He said, he thought they and Holland were agreed upon all points but one, that is, in the number and kind of forces, according to the first projected concert, and in Holland's assuring them a fourth part of the sixty thousand crowns.

That which they differed upon was, that whereas Spain offered a promise of the other thirty thousand crowns, they expected we and Holland should likewise warrant that payment, because their engagement for sixteen thousand men upon the concert, would be to us and not to Spain, and it was no reason, if Spain failed of that payment, they should yet stand engaged to us for the whole number of men. I told him, I doubted much that if this point were still between them, they were not very near agreeing: and he said he would speak with Monsieur de Witt once more upon it before the conference. But I doubt this will not hinder them from coming to some proposal to be made his Majesty of something they shall agree in. I am, &c.

To the Prince of Tuscany.

Hague, Dec. 5,
Sir, N. S. 1669.

I SHOULD not have deferred the acknowledgments I owe your Highness for the honour of your letter, if I had not been pursued with a great illness at the time I received it: and I would not acquit myself of this duty by any other hand but my own, because I am sure there is none so pleased or so ready to engage in the occasions of your service. I am extreme glad of your Highness's happy arrival at Florence; where I wish you all the felicities that ought to be destined, as they are due, to so great a merit: and I hope, that after the glorious fatigues which have hitherto been the diversion of your Highness, you will now find pleasure in the softness of repose.

Au Prince de Toscane.

La Haye, le 5 Dec.
Monsieur, *N. S.* 1669.

Je n'aurois pas perdu un moment à marquer la reconnoissance que je dois à V. A. de l'honneur quelle m'a fait par sa lettre, si dans le même tems qu'elle me fût rendue, je n'eusse été attaqué d'une violente maladie. Je n'ay pas voulu, je l'avouerai, m'acquitter de ce devoir par une maine étrangere, & cela vient de ce qu'il me semble, qu'il n'y a que la mienne qui sente autant de plaisir, & s'employe avec autant d'affection, dès qu'il est question de quelque chose qui regarde V. A. & son service. Je prens beaucoup de part à l'heureuse arrivée de V. A. à Florence; je souhaite qu'elle y goute toutes les prosperitez deues & sans doute destinées à un merite comme le sien. J'espere, qu'

après les glorieuses fatigues qui ont fait jusqu'icy les divertissemens de V. A. elle va trouver quelque plaisir dans les douceurs du répos.

For myself, I shall never think I am happy till I have paid my respects to your Highness in your own Court; and I envy no man at present but my Lord Falconbridge, who is going on an embassy into so fine a climate, and among such conversations as those of Italy, where wit and weather are equally clear, while I languish in a country where we breathe nothing but mists, and discourse of nothing but business.

Pour moy, je ne seray jamais content de la fortune, que je n'ay fait la reverence à V. A. dans sa propre Cour; & à l'heure qu'il est, le seul homme que j'envie dans le monde, c'est my Lord Falconbridge, que son ambassade va conduire dans un si beau climat, & où il va gouter tous les charmes attachez aux delicates & spirituelles conversations d'Italie; il trouvera là les jours & les esprits également purs & brillans; & pour moy, mon partage est de languir dans un païs où l'on ne respire que des brouillards, & où l'on ne fait que parler d'affaires.

To confirm this last, I cannot end my letter without telling your Highness, that after so many shocks the triple alliance has borne for some time, and so many presages of its death, there is within these two days some appearance of its recovery, unless any unexpected accident should occasion a relapse.

J'ay deja un peu contracté de ce genie; & pour le prouver à V. A. c'est que je ne sçaurois achever ma lettre sans luy dire, qu' après tant de sécousses que la triple alliance a souffertes depuis quelque tems, & tant de sinistres présages qui ont annoncé sa mort, il y a pourtant depuis deux jours quelque apparence qu'il va revivre à moins qu'un accident inopine ne cause sa rechûte.

Justice is so essential among the qualities of a great Prince, that I will not doubt but your Highness does me that of believing me always with equal passion and truth, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

La justice est une de ces qualitez si essentielles à un grand Prince, que je ne veux pas même soupçonner que V. A. me refuse celle de me croire toujours ce que je suis avec tant de passion & de verité, &c.

To the Constable of Castile.

Hague, Dec. 5,
My Lord, N. S. 1669.

THOUGH it will be difficult to add any thing to the arguments used in my last letter, and in other memorials sent so frequently to the Spanish Ambassador, upon the subject of the payment already due to the Crown of Sweden, and so solemnly stipulated by the act of May 9, signed by the said Ambassador, and afterwards ratified by the Queen Regent: however I would not fail in this important conjuncture, to make this last effort to dispose your Excellency to the quick execution of a counsel so just and necessary to the repose of Christendom as well as the preservation of Spain; and of such importance to the honour of your Excellency, who never can defend yourself against the complaints of having by little scruples lost the success of so great an affair, and neglected the fruits of an alliance whereof all Christendom hath spoke with so much applause, and hoped from it so much felicity.

I do not desire to importune your Excellency by a repetition of things already said; and I have nothing new to add, but the consideration of Monsieur Marechal the Minister of Sweden's departure, after long impatience, and much discontent at the proceedings of Spain in

Au Connétable de Castile.

De la Haye, le 5 Dec.
Monsieur, S. N. 1669.

Quoyqu'il soit bien difficile d'ajouter quelque chose aux raisons dont je me suis servi dans ma derniere lettre à V. E. & qui d'ailleurs sont repandues & ont été repetées en tant de divers memoires envoyés à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, touchant le payement déja deu à la Couronne de Suede, & si solennement accordé & stipulé par l'acte du 9 de Mai, qui a été signé par le dit Ambassadeur, & ratifié depuis par la Reine Régente: je n'ay pourtant pas voulu dans une conjoncture si importante negliger de faire un dernier effort, à fin de tacher à disposer V. E. à une prompte execution dans une affaire si juste, si necessaire d'ailleurs au repos de la Chrêtienté, aussi bien qu'à la conservation d'Espagne; j'ajouteray, si importante à l'honneur de V. E. peut être sera-t-il hors de vôtre pouvoir de parer aux reproches & aux plaintes d'avoir par de petits scrupules renoncé au succès d'une si grande affaire, & negligé les fruits d'une alliance dont la Chrêtienté a parlé avec de si grands applaudissemens, & dont elle se promettoit tant de joye & de prosperité.

Je n'ay pas dessein d'importuner V. E. par la repetition de choses déja cent fois dites; & tout ce que je puis ajouter de nouveau, roule sur le départ de Monsieur Marechal, le Ministre de la Suede, qui après bien de impatiences, après tant de pourparlers inutiles, enfin mé-

all the negotiations where he has intervened for eight or nine months past. Before he went he demanded back from me the act of guaranty signed by Sweden, and placed in my hands with the other acts to be consigned into the hands of the Spanish Ambassador upon payment of the 200,000 crowns to Sweden: and in the mean time, he consented entirely, that I should give back to the said Ambassador his act of the 9th of May, by which he was obliged to the said payment upon the consigning of the said guaranties: but I used all my endeavours to keep the said guaranty of Sweden some time longer in my hands, hoping your Excellency would yet in a few days acknowledge the obligation and necessity of advancing this satisfaction to Sweden, so long due and demanded. And as yet I have it in my power to deliver the three said guaranties to the Spanish Ambassador, as soon as he shall have given the said money to the Swedish Resident here: but if this affair be delayed till Monsieur Marechal has represented it to the King his Master, as he was resolved to do upon his departure; or till the Swedish Minister's resident here shall have received an answer to the dispatches they sent about three weeks ago, upon the spight and despair they were in at the bad success of this affair: in either of these cases, I leave your Excellency to judge, whether there will be any hopes that the Swedish Court, soured by the ill treatment and angry repre-

content de l'Espagne autant qu'on le peut être, & ayant sur le cœur l'inutilité des negotiations où on l'a fait intervenir, & qui ont consumé neuf mois, presse son départ, & va tout revéler au Roy son Maître; il me redemande avant son retour l'acte de guarantie signé par la Suede, & remis entre mes mains avec les autres actes, pour être ensuite deposé entre les mains de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne lors que les 200,000 *écus auront été payés à la Couronne de Suede. En même tems il m'a declaré qu'il consentoit pleinement que l'acte du* 9 *de Mai fait par le dit Ambassadeur, & dans lequel il s'obligeoit au dit payement, sur la remise des guaranties, & lequel acte j'ay aussi entre les mains; que cet acte, dis je, fût rendu à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne. J'ay fait de grands efforts pour retenir encore quelques jours les dites guaranties entre mes mains, dans l'esperance que V. E. informée de tout en peu de jours, sentiroit la justice & la necessité de satisfaire la Suede; il y a longtems que la chose luy a été promise, par consequent il y a longtems qu'elle luy est deue; elle a été souvent demandée, elle l'est encore aujourdhuy, & à l'heure que j'écris je suis en pouvoir de livrer les trois guaranties à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, aussitôt qu'il aura fait mettre l'argent au Ministre de Suede, qui est encore icy. Mais supposé que l'affaire soit ou negligée ou retardée jusqu' à ce que le Ministre ait envoyé son memoire & sa relation à la Cour de son Maître, & qu'il l'ait instruit de la situation où toutes choses étoi-*

sentations of their Ministers, will then give us the means, we possess at present, to finish this great work: and how necessary it will be to follow the late impressions made in that Court as soon as possible, by new ones to their entire satisfaction. For as soon as Spain shall be in possession of the guaranties of all the confederates, one may say, that not only all the appearances are safe, but also that the substance itself is finished. And if any forms remain towards the last perfection of the work, there must be time given to concert them, without hazarding the gross of the affair.

ent au moment de son depart; supposé même que par les délais on donne le tems aux Ministres de Suede de recevoir la reponse aux memoires qu'ils envoyerent il y a trois semaines tous remplis du dépit & du desespoir de voir le projet se reduire à rien: L'une ou l'autre de ces deux choses supposées (& V. E. voit qu'on les peut supposer toutes deux) il est aisé de juger que la Cour de Suede, aigrie de l'Espagne par toutes les choses que ses Ministres luy auront representées, ne voudra plus nous continuer le moyen que nous avons encore de finir ce grand ouvrage. V. E. voit donc de quel importance il est de poursuivre les dernieres impressions que la Suede a eues jusq' icy, par la nouvelle d'une prompte & entiere conclusion. Car aussitôt que l'Espagne sera en possession des guaranties de tous les confederez, on pourra dire que non seulement toutes les apparences seront sauvées, mais qu'on aura même pourvû au fond de la chose. Que s'il manquoit quelques formalitez à la perfection de cet ouvrage, il ne faudra que du tems; car comme tout sera disposé à une entiere conclusion, on ajustera tout à loisir, sans que le gros de l'affaire soit en danger.

I desire your Excellency to consider, that such occasions as you have at present in your hands are not usually given twice to men, and that they commonly lose their force by a slowness in laying hold of them. But I cannot apprehend so sad an effect from the prudence and good intentions of your Excellency: at least, I

Je prie V. E. de faire reflexion que des circonstances pareilles à celles que vous avez presentment comme sous la main, n'ont pas accoutumé de s'offrir deux fois à une même personne; que c'est leur laisser perdre de leur force, que de differer à s'en saisir. Mais la prudence & les bonnes intentions de V. E. me rassurent contre la crainte d'un evenement

shall comfort myself that I have done my utmost duty towards preventing so great a misfortune to Christendom. I am, my Lord, your, &c.

si funeste. J'aurois du moins la consolation d'un homme qui a fait son devoir, & qui n'a rien oublié pour epargner un si grand malheur à la Chrêtienté. Je suis, &c.

To Mr. Cary.

Sir, Hague, Dec. 6, N. S. 1669.

I VERY much wonder to hear from Mr. Andros the difficulties you make in delivering the tin according to my last order; and that you thereby occasion so much prejudice to the King's service, which I thought you would have advanced all you could, when I writ to you to desire your care in that business. But that you may understand what you call my commission to you; I will let you know that I had no power to give any orders at all about that matter, but in pursuance of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury's commands; and therefore new orders being arrived from them by Major Andros, they are to be obeyed in what concerns the tin business. I desire you once again to comply with him readily in the delivery of the tin, according to the last letter wrote you upon that subject; and do absolutely disown you in all difficulties you shall make upon pretence of any order from me: and if you continue to delay it any longer, shall upon the first notice of it write effectually to the Constable to do his Majesty justice in it, and me in particular, who neither expected nor deserved this dealing from you. Your servant.

To Major Andros.

Sir, Hague, Dec. 6, N. S. 1669.

SINCE the writing of this I received yours of the 4th, complaining still of Mr. Cary's refusal to de-

liver the tin; whereupon I have written him the inclosed letter, which is as much as I can say in it: if he continues his impertinence still, I suppose it will be at his own cost, since your protest: and if you will send me word what are the ways of proceeding against him, I shall write either to the Constable, or to the Governor of Ostend, or Sir Mark Ognate, at Bruges, to favour your dispatch. I am, Sir, your servant.

To the Prince Regent of Portugal.

Hague, Dec. 8, N. S. 1669.

Sir,

THOUGH nothing could happen more acceptable to me, than the occasion which the Portugal Ambassador lately gave me, not only of promoting the peace so much desired between Portugal and this State, (both friends and confederates of the King my Master) but also of shewing some little mark of my great devotion for the Queen my Mistress; yet I confess, my satisfaction was much encreased by your Royal Highness's letter, when I found how acceptable that small service was to you. I do not in the least pretend to deserve the thanks your Royal Highness is pleased to give me, at least, not upon any other account, than that of desiring by all means to seek other and greater occasions of being serviceable to your Royal Highness, and to the affairs of Portugal; and in so doing I may have some better pretence to your Royal Highness's favour, wherewith you are pleased to honour me.

Principi Portugalliæ.

Hagæ Comitis, Dec. 8, N. S. 1669.

Seren. Princeps,

Quanquam nihil mihi gratius istâ occasione accidere potuisset, quam mihi nuper præbuit Dominus Legatus Portugalliæ, non modò exoptatam utrinque concordiam & finem litium inter Portugalliæ & Fœderati Belgii Status (utrosque Regi Domino meo amicos adeò & confœderatos) promovendi, sed & eodem nomine immensi erga Reginam Dominam meam obsequii saltem exiguum aliquod specimen exhibendi; auctam tamen & cumulatam planè ex literis A. V. R. oblectationem meam fuisse confiteor, cum illi tam acceptum extitisse istud qualecunque officium summâ cum voluptate percepissem. Ego me autem nec gratias, quas mihi dignata est A. V. R. meruisse præfero, saltem non alio nomine quam summi istius quo teneor desiderii alteriores aliquas & majores occasiones consequendi, quibus devotissimum prorsus in A. V. R. & res Portugalliæ studium meum testari potero, benevolentiamque istam cujus testimonio me tam eximiè ornatum voluit, omni meliore modo demereri.

I wish your Royal Highness all health, and am, Sir, &c.

Valeat interim A. V. R. meque semper inter præcipuos gloriæ suæ cultores, rebusque suis addictissimos, æstimare velit.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Hague, Dec. 10, N. S. 1669.

I RECEIVED yesterday yours of the 23d past, together with his Majesty's instructions of the 22d; and could have wished Mr. Werden had brought them with him for a reserve, though not to have been communicated till the last minute of his stay, and the despair of all other trials, for by that means we might have kept the business entire; whereas now, though it may recover some life, yet I much doubt whether it ever can, the strength and health of its first constitution; for besides so great and so many jealousies as are entered into it on all sides, I count Monsieur Marechal's going away a very ill accident; and can yet make no guess how Monsieur Appleboome will acquit himself whenever we shall come to the payment of the subsidies, though Monsieur Marechal was so forward as to make it sure: but Mr. Werden can tell you how different sorts of men they are; and for aught I see, all businesses depend upon the qualities of the men that manage them; which (considering the ill success of this) is all I shall say in answer of your compliment to me; that it is in very good hands.

I gave you an account in my last, of the bold advance the Dutch had made to the Constable, of signing their part of their concert alone immediately upon the payment of the two hundred thousand crowns. We expect every day the answer to this proposition; and finding one clause of my instructions to command the suppressing them, in case I find, either before or after their arrival, that the money would be paid according to the treaty

of May last, I thought it agreeable to what I conceive of his Majesty's intentions, for me to take no notice of them till I see what this return from the Constable will produce; and in case it be followed by the payment of the money, to expect his Majesty's farther orders before I proceed upon them. If the Constable still insist to have the concert jointly signed, I shall then fall into the consideration of it with the Swedes and Dutch Ministers, and endeavour to bring it to an issue, according to his Majesty's instructions, but so as not to prostitute our offer till we have assurance that no more difficulties will be made by Spain; nor any changes desired in that concert which has so long been framed, and in which I have not observed the least inclination in any of the Ministers here to admit of any alterations. I suppose it is not his Majesty's intention I should consent to the concert, but in conjunction with the Swede as well as the Dutch, in case the first should not be induced to it, or raise new difficulties: and according to this apprehension I shall proceed. In all which points I am more distinct, that you may find whether I understand his Majesty's meaning right, and may please accordingly to inform and direct me: for the paces, as they are much more difficult, so they ought to be much more cautious in a Minister when his instructions are numerous and particular, as mine are grown in this affair. And you may be very confident when they are once given, they shall be punctually observed to the best that I can understand them. And in that itself, I thank God, I have not yet failed; and desire nothing of my Master and my friends more than that I may be the first to hear of it when I do.

I did enclose the last memorial I sent the States upon the business of Surinam; and spoke with Monsieur Van Beuninghen since my last upon it.

He protests, that for his part he is of opinion (and so are most of his province), to give us just what we ask in that matter; but that we must excuse the delays of their constitution, when the dissent of one province makes the resolutions of all the other lame. He confessed, that though Zealand had consented to what I mentioned in two of my late letters, yet they had ordered their deputies to delay the conclusion of it for a while; so as they had been forced to write once more to convince them of the necessity which Holland thought there was to dispatch it speedily as well as effectually: and he hoped for a sudden and good answer from them.

The Ministers here have been earnest with me to propose to his Majesty, to go the same or equal pace with them in laying impositions upon the French commodities; which, they think, would prove the greatest parsimony that either of us could use, and be a greater blow to France than armies could give. And they say, in case his Majesty should resolve upon it, they would go as far as he pleased in it; whereas, without that, they must be something tenderer than they would be.

They would fain engage me likewise to propose to his Majesty their joining with us in equal proportion of ships and men for the carrying on a war against Algiers: but I suppose their end is, that they may be comprehended likewise in a peace with them, which may perhaps be our farthest aim: and so I tell them this might have been a welcome proposal when we began to set out our fleet; but can signify little now the action seems near an end: however, that such things are fitter to be proposed by their own Ambassador in England than by me: and I mention them that you may be prepared, in case he receive instructions to propose them there. I am always as becomes me, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Hague, Dec. 13, N. S. 1669.

THOUGH I had liberty given me by your last of the 2d past, to make use of my late instructions as soon as I pleased, the Constable's positive answer having satisfied you what we were to expect from thence; yet the advance having since been made from the Dutch, by the offer I acquainted you with to the Constable, I resolved still to pursue what I intended in my last, in suppressing wholly this instruction till I saw the Constable's answer to the States letter, and what hopes that would furnish us with of obtaining the payment of the present money, without engaging his Majesty in the concert before his measures were taken more fully with Spain. But yesterday the Spanish Ambassador came to tell me, that he had received a letter from their agent Fonseca, which assures him that orders were already sent me to sign the concert; and that his Majesty told him so at the same time when he received news of Don Juan de Toledo's death. I told him, the authority was too good to be disputed; and therefore I confessed I had received orders to make a farther advance for the satisfaction of Spain and the confederates, than his Majesty had yet thought fit to do, or esteemed himself at all obliged to: but I desired them to believe there was nothing to give them any the least hopes of his Majesty's charging himself with any part of the Swedish subsidies. That if they, and Sweden, and Holland, could agree upon that point, so as to dispose Sweden to sign the first concert that was proposed at the same time with the guaranty, his Majesty would go very far towards the conclusion of the whole matter. But I assured him at the same time, that, though I were agreed with Swe-

den and Holland to make him an offer of the concert, yet we would not do any thing towards it till he had powers to consign the money immediately, without any new dispatches and difficulties from Brussels.

I found the Spanish Ambassador had immediately upon receipt of his letters from England, sent an extract of them to Monsieur de Witt, as the Baron d'Isola had done to Monsieur Appleboome, who were both in pain till they knew the truth from me, and sent to me to that purpose: and knowing the Ambassador would be as diligent to inform the Constable as them, and consequently influence any answer not already given to the Dutch letter, I resolved to go and talk with them both upon the business, and concert with them what course to hold in the progress of it. I could not get a time of speaking with Monsieur de Witt to day, but did with Monsieur Appleboome; and much to the same purpose as I had yesterday to the Spanish Ambassador, but plainer, and in more confidence. All that I could get from him was, that he would read over that first concert to day, and consider whether he could sign it: that it was true, Monsieur Marechal had offered to sign something like it, but containing in the same act the security of their future subsidies, which they were to insist upon before they sign it. I told him all the difference would be, that whereas they contented themselves before with Spain's promise of one half, to take it now for three parts, if the Spaniards would be persuaded to it; and they had the same security for one as for the other (which I knew they reckoned upon), of not furnishing more troops than in proportion to the money they received. He seemed a good deal unsatisfied that the Spanish Ambassador had received the advice from England before the answer was returned from the Con-

stable: for since we will make no part of the security for their future subsidies, I find they would very fain touch the two hundred thousand crowns before they give the concert, which they might then sell dearer to Spain, or at least make it the price of their satisfaction growing due by the two next payments of the four hundred eighty thousand crowns already due. All ended between us with this promise, of acquainting me with his resolution, so soon as he had considered it, and the proposal of a conference upon it with Monsieur de Witt. I find now the want I always feared of Monsieur Marechal, who is not to be retrieved; so that we must make our best of what we have, and do all we can to put him out of his pace.

The Baron d'Isola came to me this afternoon; and the business I found was to persuade me to sign Monsieur Marechal's projects, and thereby charge his Majesty with the fifteen thousand crowns to Sweden, but upon a promise from the Constable, of Spain supplying his Majesty with the sums we should furnish upon that engagement. But I cut him off short in that and all other expedients; and told him, if his Majesty were induced to sign the concert, as it was more than they had any reason to expect from him, so it was all they were to hope in this matter; and therefore I desired him to reckon upon it, and take their measures accordingly. I suppose, by what he said, his intentions are to go away for Brussels within a day or two, and bring us a positive resolution of what we are to expect from thence as to the immediate payment, and their promise to Sweden of three parts of the future subsidies: but he will first endeavour to know Monsieur Appleboome's mind, who will at least be stiff in this, that the promise be made by Spain to the confederates, and not directly to Sweden.

Since my last, the Lunenburg Envoy came to desire me that I would let his Majesty know how much his Masters esteemed themselves honoured by the overtures his Majesty made them of entering into an alliance, of which he was the head: that thereupon they had ordered him to attend here ever since, in hopes of some farther proposals towards the engaging them in it; but that his Masters hearing no farther from hence, and finding that by the ill posture of our *triple alliance*, other Princes of Germany were seeking other measures, they had commanded him to return (which he should do about three weeks hence), but first to endeavour by my hand to give his Majesty the best testimonies of their affections to his service, and good intentions towards the ends he had so gloriously engaged in. I promised him to perform the message, and employed the rest of my discourse in convincing him, how much more the Princes of Germany were concerned in the defence of Flanders, than his Majesty; and that however, if his Masters had any expectations besides their own interests towards engaging them, they ought to be from Holland, and not from us; since the most important use of their troops would be to awe the Bishop of Munster, who might otherwise be able, by the French assistances, to divert all or the greatest part of the Dutch forces that way, and thereby leave Flanders open to the French. He confessed both these points; and I promised to do him any good offices I could towards the Dutch Ministers.

The Deputies of the States came this day to me, to assure me of their desires and resolutions to satisfy his Majesty in the business of Surinam, but that they could not yet come to a final conclusion, and therefore desired me to have patience for a little longer time, after which I might assure myself of a good end in it. They pretended Monsieur

de Witt's and their chief Ministers being so much taken up at this time; but upon discourse confessed, the Zealanders aim to have their next ships arrive from Surinam. Upon which I fell into some heat with them, and told them, I would never send such a message to his Majesty, such delays being fitter for law-suits than public negotiations; at last concluded, that because I would a little consider their Ministers being so much taken up at this pinch, about levies and other affairs agitating in the States of Holland, I was content to stay six days longer for their resolution in this matter, upon condition I should have it in that time to his Majesty's satisfaction. To make short of a long conference, this they agreed to at last, and I will hope may keep their words, since there was one of the Zealand Deputies among them.

The task you give me in the end of your letter, is, as you say, a hard one; for whatsoever is planted of that kind, will not grow long or well, but out of a good root at home; however, I shall venture at it here all I can; and dare undertake it shall not thrive worse in this than in other neighbour soils, I am, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Dec. 24, N. S. 1669.

THOUGH Monsieur Overkirk wants nothing to make him welcome every where, but especially at the Hague, yet I confess he was the more so to me, by a letter he brought me from your Lordship; whereby I found myself to be not altogether forgotten where I desire most to be remembered, and would deserve it if I could. I am very sensible that the right you say he has done me there, may rather prove an ill office than a good; but however, I am not the less obliged by his good meaning, nor the

more touched by their ill, who are not content I should gain a little esteem, whilst I am content to gain nothing else; and where I should not care for that neither, but that I believe it to be the best way any Minister can take towards the advantage of his Master's service. Whilst your Lordship hath neither share nor belief in the ill offices are done me, I shall very easily neglect what comes from other hands, and content myself with not deserving them, and with the assurance, that time will do me right; and that your Lordship will not lose your confidence of me till you have told me of some one action in my whole life, that you thought did not become a man you were inclined to think well of. And so I will leave that subject.

I agree with your Lordship in being sorry that Mr. Werden did not stay to see the effect of his Majesty's last resolution in the great business here: and though the ill or no entertainments of this place might excuse his haste of returning, yet I believe he would have been content a little to delay it, if he had expected any thing new from England; and for my part, I wish nothing more than some true witness of my carriage wherever I am employed; which I doubt not he would have proved, without increasing any more than lessening my faults. I shall do neither by those of the Spaniards, which your Lordship has so much reason to censure and reproach: nor should I be less amazed at them, but that I look upon them as the usual distractions of weak and diseased bodies. It is certain, they have deserved so little of us, that we have no reason at all to concern ourselves in their interests or dangers, unless we find they will have very strong and necessary consequences upon our own; and in that case our growing angry with them will only serve to hurt ourselves; and we had better help them to mend their faults, than force

them by despair or hardships to increase them. Most of the Ministers here, not knowing what to make of their late conduct in the difficulties upon the Swedish money, nor seeing well which way to turn themselves, in case Spain should take its measures with France by an exchange of Flanders, begin to confess they have dealt too roughly with them, in imposing not only the laws of a hard peace upon them, but the Swedish subsidies at the same time, and ever since refusing them their guaranty till those were paid; and seem to wish they had either accepted the first proposal I was sent hither to make them upon that occasion, or else endeavoured a defensive league with them after the conclusion of the peace at Aix; I mean, if it might have been done in conjunction with us: for I think, while we are content to hold firm with them, it were no great matter to undertake they shall never take any measures without us, either there or any where else; though I know there are reports in France that would make us believe it, if we are apt to those impressions.

For their detaining us so long upon the point of Surinam, it must be attributed to the constitution of this State, where the obstinacy of any one province can keep off a resolution of the States General as long as they please, and that happens often where (as in this case) the matter touches one province by a particular interest, and the rest only by a general one; for, I am sure, the province of Holland and the other five were many months ago resolved, not only to give us in substance the satisfaction we demanded, but in our own forms too; till they found that Zealand would neither be persuaded *ni gourmandé* into the same resolution; which hath made it hang so long, and go over at last defective as to what we expected about one of our own ships, though, as they contend, full as to what we can in

any way ground upon our articles. For their great arming, which it seems makes more noise with you and in France than it does here; I shall not need give your Lordship the particular of it, because that is done with the other current news by my secretary Mr. Blaithwait every week to Mr. Williamson; and shall only mark what may perhaps have escaped your Lordship, that there are yet no actual levies here agreed upon, but only officers chosen, agreements made with them, and security taken for their bringing in their men at a certain warning when they shall be called upon by the States: so as the execution of what is hitherto but prepared will depend upon the clearer discovery of the French or the Munster intentions to open a war: both which are expected here, and equally feared; the difference not being great between the danger of Flanders and their own: so that I can only answer your Lordship's question about the States meaning in this point; that it is *Qu'on ne les trouve pas sans vert le printems qui vient;* and that if it must prove a year of action, they will not be found without arms in their hands, for the better making either of peace or war. It is a hard attempt what your Lordship mentions, to defend their neighbours in spight of their teeth; yet I believe, in case Spain should come to an exchange with France, and any of the towns of Flanders should refuse to obey it, either not to be sold like slaves (as they call it) by the Spaniards, or not to be used like slaves by the French; you would see this State protect them with all their forces; and blow up any such ends of a war in Flanders, rather than venture it at home; and perhaps endeavour to unite any such new member into the body of their State, by giving them an eighth voice in their generality, in case it should be such a place as Antwerp, or Ghent, or Bruges, where they

might easily come with their arms to defend it: and they have notice of some such discourses already a-foot in these parts, which they neglect not to foment, as a provision against such a blow from Spain. In case all they can do should not be of force to prevent the falling of Flanders into the French hands, I believe their last resource may be to endeavour being received as a circle into the Empire: but in all these transactions their chiefest care will be to strengthen their union all they can with us, and to embark us in what they now esteem the common cause, of stopping the growth of the French greatness. For though they say, and with truth, that we engaged them first in the pursuit of these measures, and the whole course of their present counsels; yet they would be much at ease to see us now as warm and as deep in them as they are themselves, and would fain give us the honour of leading in them all.

The discourse your Lordship will possibly hear about changes or decays in the credit of the Ministry here, I believe have no farther source than an endeavour in the city of Amsterdam to make themselves more considered than as a simple town in the provinces; since they pay half of all that is laid upon the province of Holland, as Holland does of all that is levied on the seven provinces; which makes them believe they ought at least in some degree to be considered in the province as Holland is in the State; which made them employ all their strength to oppose the faction of Leyden, Dort, Rotterdam, &c. who under Monsieur de Witt's influence have of late years carried all before them in the usual elections; and join with the body of the nobility here, to choose Monsieur Mattenesse in exclusion of Monsieur Meerman; where the contest was about an office of the greatest profit in these countries, and of great honour, though

not influence upon the public affairs. They have likewise succeeded well in the late election of officers for the new levies, and seem disposed to run on still in a string. And amongst them there have of late been overtures about making a new Minister, under the name of *Secretary of State;* whose province should be chiefly to receive the addresses of foreign Ministers, and take the care of all foreign dispatches; and so ease Monsieur de Witt of that attention he is fain to give those as well as the home-affairs. And this I suppose was calculated for Monsieur Van Beuninghen, who has silently had a great hand in all the counsels and motions of this town of Amsterdam; and, I believe, will in effect come to have the chief part, or at least burthen, in foreign transactions, whether with any new name or no.

Monsieur de Witt in these late brigues has very prudently avoided any appearance of being a party in them; and contented himself with going his usual pace, but stickling no farther in any of them; seeming rather to intend and endeavour the composure of all, than the valuing himself upon a division: which I believe, with his being so very necessary to the State, will ever preserve him in his consideration here, *without some violent revolution,* to which nothing seems at all disposed.

Among the late divisions of this province, one great point has been about the intended prohibition of French commodities; which has been violently carried on by Monsieur Van Beuninghen and his town of Amsterdam, but opposed and tempered by the towns of the other faction, upon the respect of their particular interests in the French trade, and the pretext of danger or ill consequences in such a counsel, unless it be taken in concert with England: so that whether it will go farther than the defence of the common French commo-

dities that are in wear, I know not; though Monsieur Van Beuninghen reckoned (not long since) absolutely, that it would be carried to French salt and brandy; and if we would go the same pace, it should reach to their wine too: which, he believed, would soon bring France into such a consumption as would keep them from being so troublesome abroad. But I entered no farther with him into any discourse of that kind, because I doubt whether we are of a temper or a humour to resolve or execute any bold or smart propositions, how well soever conceived, or conducing to our health and good fortunes: though I question not at all but God Almighty has given us the power of going as high as the greatest of our neighbours, but perhaps, as your Lordship says, unknown to ourselves, and in another way than some of us would be glad to have had it. But where-ever it lies, I doubt it will never come out, till his Majesty can find the means to make an end of all fencing with the bents of his Parliament, or discontents of his people; and bring his government into the credit of having no other aims nor interests but those of his subjects in general, not in particular; nor consequently any eye upon their money but for those uses they are willing to give it. This I confess is my opinion upon the whole, and that all does not consist in a Parliament's being prevailed with to give what is asked in point of money, as I find many people think. However, I should never have said it to any but your Lordship; nor to you neither, but induced by the melancholy reflections I observed in your letter upon this subject: but, whatever mine or another's opinion is, I am confident every man that thinks at all, must think it were not amiss if his Majesty and his Ministers would once for all consider and agree upon a general draught of those ways and counsels both at

home and abroad, as they judge will best answer the great ends of the King and kingdom's safety, honour, and quiet. For when such a scheme is once agreed upon, all the parts of it may be pursued in their order, and with constant application till they are brought to pass; at least such as fail not in the trial, and so are found to have been ill conceived. But if it should prove (as I find some men think) that we live only by the day; and content ourselves to patch up things as they break out, and fly at the game as it rises; it is at the best but like birding or hawking, which may furnish a dish or two, but can never keep the house.

If your Lordship can pardon all this liberty and trouble, I will not run myself into the occasion of asking it again; if not, you must lay the whole fault upon your own letter, or rather upon my not having heard from you, or written to you of late; and upon my perpetual strong inclinations of returning into my old correspondence, just as a man does into an old love, which lies still at heart, however diverted or discontinued. But because I use so much freedom in the account of dispositions here, and of my own thoughts, I send it by Mr. Richard's conveyance to your own hands; in which I shall ever think all safe that concerns me, because I have been always, and am with so much passion, my Lord, your, &c.

To the Constable of Castile.

Hague, Jan. 23, N. S. 1670.

My Lord,

I DOUBT not but the Spanish Ambassador has by this courier communicated to your Excellency the project of the concert for particular forces, drawn up by consent of the Ministers of the three Confederates: and I can assure your

Al Connétable de Castile.

La Haye, le 23 Jan. S. N. 1670.

Monsieur,

Je ne doute pas que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne ne communique à V. E. par ce courier le projet du concert des forces particulieres, lequel a été arreté icy par le consentement des Ministres des trois Confederez. Je puis bien assurer

Excellency, that to bring it into form, all the said Ministers have stretched their powers as much as possible, so that there will be no room to press them farther: and it has been with difficulty enough that we have resisted the instances of the Swedish Minister to have his guaranty, rather than make this pace after so many other unprofitable ones. He assures us, that he never advanced any proposition of bringing troops from Pomerania or Bremen; because there are no more in those parts than what serve for garrisons; and when he is pressed upon this point, he answers us, that to maintain supernumerary troops in those parts they must have subsidies even in time of peace; and upon this condition Sweden will be content.

V. E. que pour le reduire à la forme où il est, tous les Ministres se sont relachez à l'envi, & autant qu'il leur a été possible. Il seroit inutile de les presser de nouveau, & pretendre en obtenir davantage: nous avons trouvé assez de difficulté à l'emporter sur le Ministre de Suede, pour avoir sa guarantie avant que d'aller plus loin, & de faire de nouveaux pas inutiles, après tous ceux que nous avions faits. Il nous asseure de n'avoir jamais rien proposé qui tendît à faire venir des troupes de Pomeranie ni de Breme, qui sont des lieux où il n'y en a pas un plus grand nombre que ce qu'il faut pour les garrisons; qui si l'on le presse sur ce point, il nous repond, que pour entretenir des troupes supernumeraires en ces lieux-là, il faut des subsidies en tems de paix même, & qu' à ces conditions la Suede en sera satisfaite.

I think what he promises is sufficient; that is, to bring into the field the 16,000 men in three months after the attack; for there is no appearance of employing so great forces, unless by way of diversion; since the troops to be furnished by his Majesty and the States General, joined to those of the Catholic King, will be as many as can be well employed for the defence of Flanders; for it is not designed they should be masters of the field. Your Excellency sees, that you may reckon if you please upon 10,000 men from the States in fifteen days time; and though there be no term specified by the King my Master, I think

Il me semble que c'est assez qu'il promette de fair agir les 16,000 hommes trois mois écoulés après l'attaque; car il n'y a guere d'apparence d'employer de si grandes forces, que par voye de diversion: les troupes qui doivent être fournies par sa Majesté & les Etats Géneraux étant jointes à celles du Roy Catholique, leur nombre sera suffisant pour la defense des Païs-bas; car on n'a pas dessein de se repandre dans le païs, & de s'y élargir, ni de paroître maître de la campagne. V. E. voit que quand il luy plaira, quinze jours de tems la rendront maîtresse de dix mille hommes de troupes des Etats Géneraux; & à l'egard du Roy mon Maître,

your Excellency need make no difficulty upon it, since the words, *as soon as possible*, signify the shortest time one can desire. And I confess, that not having observed any reflection upon the time, in the orders of the Queen Regent of Spain, which were communicated to us by the Ambassador Gamarra, I gave no notice of it to his Majesty, thinking myself sufficiently guarded by my powers, to sign the same project which had been sent into England as well as Spain.

quoyque le terme ne soit ni exprimé, ni precisément specifié, il me semble pourtant que V. E. ne peut former des difficultés sur cela; car ces mots, Au plutôt que faire se pourra, *emportent bien un terme limité, quelque court qu'on veuille le sousentendre, personne n'ayant jamais exigé une chose plutôt qu'elle ne se peut faire. J'avoüeray, que les ordres & pleins pouvoirs de la Reine Regente d'Espagne, qui nous ont été communiqués par l'Ambassadeur Gamarra, ne faisant aucune mention de cette petite difference, je n'en avois pas donné avis à sa Majesté, me croyant assés muni, & assés autorisé par mes pleins-pouvoirs pour signer le même projet qui avoit été Envoyé en Angleterre aussi bien qu'en Espagne.*

I hope, that as soon as your Excellency will have sent powers to the Spanish Ambassador to deliver the money, there will be no difficulty in signing the project as it has been communicated to him. And I do not think, from what I can judge by the Minister of Sweden, that the affair is likely to suffer any farther delays; whereof I thought good to give your Excellency this intelligence, which you may make use of according to your prudence, and the interests of the King your Master. I am, my Lord, your, &c.

J'espere que dès que V. E. aura depêché les pouvoirs à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne de delivrer l'argent, il n'y aura plus de difficulté à la signature du projet, tel qu'il luy a été communiqué: et autant que je le puis juger, sur tout par rapport au Ministre de Suede, je ne croy plus que cette affaire trouve de retardement. C'est dequoy j'ay voulu donner avis à V. E. C'est à elle à en user selon sa prudence, & les interêts de son Roy, & à m'estimer comme je suis, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Hague, Jan. 24, N. S. 1670.

I AM to acknowledge yours of the 7th with an enclosed to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, which I have

sent to Amsterdam, having first perused it as you pleased to give me leave. I shall say nothing upon it till I have spoken with him, and seen how we agree in matter of fact; because the weight of all seems to lie upon the use of those private contracts to the exclusion of our trade, having been disowned, if not invalidated, by the treaty between the two nations after the first war; and upon the practice having been exercised accordingly for several years after, and till within few years of our second war: which two points, if they can be evidenced by the treaty, and by sufficient testimonies of the subsequent practice, we have certainly all the reason in the world for our demands. But if we must rely upon the common equity in freedom of traffic between friends, we are engaged in the question upon which we cannot yet agree; whether the same rules are current in the Indies as in Europe: to which I suppose we shall hardly ourselves consent, if the West must be comprehended as well as the East. But I shall be able to say more upon this when I have got a sight of the treaty after the first war, and heard Monsieur Van Beuninghen upon your letter: and in the mean time shall assure you of all the offices I can possibly render towards the obtaining of what we pretend.

I can add nothing to my last upon the business of Surinam, being engaged in my endeavours of disposing those of Zealand to let it pass smooth when it comes to the States General; such stops being easier prevented than removed, while men are so apt to persist in what they have once said. In the mean time the Pensioner of Zealand presses me to procure the names of such as his Majesty intends to employ as Commissioners, before the orders here are consigned me, according as they desired in their last letter; wherein you may observe the names of three men to be inserted on

purpose that his Majesty might decline them in this commission: if you please to send me the names, I suppose it may be necessary to the expediting of these orders, unless you should think of any inconvenience in it, which occurs not to me.

In pursuit of the late conference, whereof I gave you account in my last, we have agreed upon this enclosed project to be sent to the Constable, as that which he may hope will be signed upon the money being paid, and wherein I am sure there is not any thing of the least moment changed as to what concerns his Majesty; though the changing of the form that you sent me could not be avoided, because it was without introduction or conclusion; and besides, it went a step farther than the Swedish Minister was willing to go, in making it an act to the Spaniards; whereas this runs only as an instrument between themselves, of which the Spanish Ministers are to have only an authentic copy: and since the Swedes had rather have it this way, I thought best to agree with them, at least if the Spaniards will be contented with it: but I would not be induced to engage his Majesty in point of time; though I was never pressed with more earnestness to any thing, both by the Spaniards and by the Dutch, who sent their deputies twice to persuade me to it, because they were unwilling to leave the Constable that way of escaping us. And to say the truth, in my own judgment, I thought it very little material, but I had no orders to go farther in it; and have to the Spaniards taken upon myself the not having given his Majesty any notice of that pretension early enough to have it included in my powers, as you will see by the enclosed copy of the letter I yesterday wrote the Constable, in conjunction with another from the States, to press conclusion in this affair.

For particular occurrents, I refer to what goes to

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Mr. Cook, being unwilling to charge myself with the credit of current news; which I have ever found so uncertain, that a man may be considered more for what he does not write than what he does. Yet I will trouble you with two small matters, whether they deserve it or no. Monsieur de Rohan, brother to the Duke de Mombaçon, having sold his place of Grand Veneur for four hundred and odd thousand livres, came hither last week to dispose of a hundred thousand crowns in this country, though interest is not half so high as in France; and has done it: which I reflected on, because I had heard formerly he was a person as well with his Master as almost any at Court.

There was executed this week at Amsterdam a person of very good quality and credit among them, only for having engaged the copies of an obligation he had from the Admiralty, instead of the original, to some persons from whom he took up money upon them: and though he was nephew to one of the Burgomasters of that town, and brother to the Treasurer of Zealand, and all the instances that could be were made for having him condemned all his life to a hole where he could neither see nor stir, with offer of repaying all the money he had taken up, and afterwards a thousand pounds would have been given to have had him executed in prison, yet he could not escape losing his head with the common forms in public, to the loss of his creditors, who were as much concerned to save him as his friends. Which I observed as a remarkable strain of the justice here, so much different from the style of most other places. I am, Sir, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 7, N. S. 1670.

SINCE my last I have received your Lordship's of the 28th past; and doubt not but before this arrives you will be fully satisfied by the late accounts I have given, of our progress here towards the conclusion of what had so long depended between us and the Spanish Ministers. I cannot yet say the money is paid, but I see nothing that wants towards it, only the adjusting of that conjunction (demanded by the Constable) of merchants at Antwerp: for the Spanish dealings are in so ill credit, that it is hard to find any who will give caution for such a sum to the Spaniards, and in their own dominions, where they can plead and judge themselves. I believe the States must at last engage to the merchants here that they will indemnify them from all that shall fall out on this occasion: though after the arrival of the ratifications from England and Sweden, the Spaniards should make a *Querelle d'Allemand* with their correspondents at Antwerp, and force them to any prejudice without any pretence.

I gave Monsieur de Witt the first news of the French King's declaration, to remit the judgment of the differences depending on the peace to his Majesty's and the Crown of Sweden's arbitration: he thought the leaving out the States was something discourteous on the French side; but said, however, he was very glad of the thing being done, and hoped, as the business should receive no hurt by any resentment on their side, so it would receive none on our side by any effect of the great cajolry of France; especially since this resolution appeared by the time to have another source than

only the civility or deference of that Court towards his Majesty.

I doubt the confidence in this declaration will stop the levies which were intended for this spring, though these Ministers are not the most believing in the French promises; and I am not very confident the effect of this last may not be spoiled by some unreasonable answer from Spain upon it, having been confirmed in such a suspicion by the Baron d'Isola's opinion, who told me he would write to the Marquis Castel-Rodrigo, to advise that the Queen should accept this offer of France, * *pourveu que le Roy très-Chrêtien remettroit au même arbitrage toutes les contreventions de la paix dont l'Espagne s'estoit plaint à la conference de Lisle.* Which concerns the spoils of Burgundy, and which France would never admit to give jointly in the conference with their pretensions about the dependences. I told the Baron, I feared such an answer might ruin the business, since it could not come till the beginning of the spring, and might then give the French a pretext of recalling his word, after the passing of it had laid asleep all thoughts or preparations for war both in Flanders and Holland, from whence the first assistance is to be expected; and that I thought the answer of Spain ought to be full and absolute as to the acceptance of what is offered by France; and if they would make room for the contraventions he mentions, that they should do it rather by enlarging the acceptance than restraining it to any condition, and say they accepted the arbitrage upon those dependences, and all other differences arising upon the peace; in the discussion whereof the

* *Provided the Most Christian King would refer to the same arbitrage all the contraventions of the peace, whereof Spain complained at the conference of Lisle.*

Spanish pretensions might likewise be brought before the arbitrators, but at a more seasonable time than this next spring will prove. The Baron professed to be convinced by these reasons; but because there is not much trust to a person who is so far in love with his own sufficiency, and seems to mind the valuing of himself at least equally with the doing of his business, I thought it not impertinent to give your Lordship my reflection upon this matter, that if you approve it, you may by some safe way or cypher transmit it to Sir William Godolphin; for otherwise I am confident the Spanish answer will be perplexed with those contraventions which have held the Commissioners all this while at a bay at Lisle, and will not be admitted by France in the decision of the dependences.

I sent your Lordship enclosed Baron d'Isola's rough propositions concerning his Master's joining with the triple alliance, which the Ministers of the Confederates think fit to discourse first among themselves, and afterwards enter into conference with him, as the Ministers of one united power. All we can do at first will be to communicate what passes to our Masters; and therefore I send your Lordship the first proposals by advance, that I may the sooner know your reflections upon them.

After what will pass here in the conclusion of our guaranty and Swedish payments, I think if Monsieur Ognati can propose any good way of securing his Majesty, or rather furnishing him beforehand with what one quarter of the Swedish future subsidies will amount to for the three months which are to be advanced, it would add to the strength and credit of our alliance, in giving so great a satisfaction to the Swede, as they would receive by his Majesty's undertaking for the fifteen thousand crowns a month, which they have

so much insisted on, and seem so much unsatisfied with failing in it.

I had notice from my Lord Falconbridge of his intended journey, and have already begun our correspondence by a letter which will meet him at Paris: and shall not fail in that, nor I hope in any other duties of my employment.

I wish my Lord Berkley all success in his new and great charge; not knowing any other wherein a diligent, honest, and able person may be of greater service to his Majesty than in that. I am ever, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant.

To Sir William Godolphin.

Sir, Hague, Apr. 3, N. S. 1670.

THIS bearer, Monsieur Chiese, is dispatched by his Highness the Prince of Orange to Madrid, for the prosecution and recovery of a great debt owing now some time from that Crown to his Highness, and, I think, not disputed by them: and though this gentleman goes armed with much better weapons than any I can furnish him towards the pursuit of his enterprise, yet the Prince having commanded me to give him my recommendations to you among many others he carries, I could not fail of it, nor will I doubt its being of some force with you, since it comes in the service of a Prince whose birth gives him so much interest in all Englishmen, and whose personal qualities and virtues give him a great deal more in all those that have the honour to know him. I must therefore beg all the good offices and assistances you can shew this gentleman in pursuit of his Highness's concernments, as well as your advice to him if he desires it, how to address himself by such persons, and in such ways, as will give him most appearance

of success. Your favour herein I shall take care to value as I ought towards his Highness; as I shall always myself acknowledge it; and remain, Sir, your obedient humble servant.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Hague, Apr. 3, N. S. 1670.

My Lord,

THOUGH the bearer hereof, Monsieur Chiese, will have no need of other support beside the name of the Prince his Master, and the justice of the affair he has in charge; I would not fail however of giving him, besides, this recommendation to your Excellency, as well to pay my duty to his Highness the Prince of Orange, as to shew my confidence that I have yet some share in the memory and friendship of your Excellency. I can assure you that the Court of Spain, in doing justice to his Highness, will oblige a Prince who equals his great birth by his great qualities; and who will be one day capable of recompensing the kindness that shall be shewed him at present. His Highness already takes great part in the good turn of the Spanish affairs, by such sentiments as deserve to be cherished, and not discouraged by any treatment either unjust or disobliging. I could not recommend his pretensions to a person more generous than your Excellency, nor to one who has been always pleased to interest him so much in what regards the King my Master. And your Excellency's favour in this affair cannot be desired with

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

La Haye, 3 Avril, S. N. 1670.

Monsieur,

Quoique le porteur de cette lettre, Monsieur Chiese, n'ait pas besoin d'autre appuy que du nom du Prince son Maître, & de l'équité de la cause dont il est chargé; je n'ay pourtant pas voulu manquer à luy donner comme par surabondance de droit, cette recommendation auprès de V. E. autant pour satisfaire à mon devoir envers son Altesse le Prince d'Orange, que pour me faire honneur de la confiance avec laquelle je croy avoir encore quelque part dans le souvenir & l'amitié de V. E. Je pourrois bien l'assurer, qu'en faisant justice à son Altesse, la Cour d'Espagne obligera un Prince dont les grandes qualités égalent la grandeur de sa naissance, & qui sera un jour en état de reconnoître les bontez qu'on aura à present pour luy: ajouteray-je, que ce Prince prend déja beaucoup de part au bon train que prennent les affaires d'Espagne? de tels sentimens quand ils seroient seuls, meritent que sa personne soit cherie, & qu'au lieu de le rebuter par des traitemens qui sentent l'injustice, on embrasse cette occasion de l'obliger. Je ne sçaurois recommander ses interêts à une personne plus génereuse que V. E. ni qui se soit

greater instance, nor by one who is more than I am, my Lord, your Excellency's, &c.

toujours plus interessée dans tout ce qui a touché de près le Roy mon Maître. V. E. ne sçauroit être plus instamment priée d'acorder sa faveur, ni par une personne qui lui soit plus acquise, & qui soit avec plus de passion que je suis, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Hague, May 6, N. S. 1670.

I HAVE newly received yours of the 23d past, with a former of the 19th, which brought me some marginal additions upon the paper I last sent into Zealand concerning the business of Surinam. As to the words, *The Dutch nation inhabiting there,* which are conformable with the style of the States last letter to his Majesty upon that subject, I question not to get them inserted, in case the Zealanders come to a conclusion upon my paper; though they say, it already contains several points more than our first demands.

For the words, *Ou quelque autre,* concerning the person by whom his Majesty will send the orders, I suppose they will pass too; in case the intentions are not to employ any of those three persons for the carrying them, against whom the Dutch at first excepted.

For the other words which determine the rendition of the colony, to be that made by Major Bannister, April 21, 1668, I must say freely, that I have very little hopes of gaining it; having formerly employed my strength upon it without any success, so much as with the Deputies of Holland, or of any other provinces which have expressed the most easy compliance with our demands; and they ever thought it very hard, that having yielded to our demands, of exporting slaves, contrary to all customs formerly practised in that colony, and

upon the disputed sense of an article, we should press them to carry away likewise those very slaves which they themselves had furnished us with, though they offer to repay more than the price they cost. And upon my instances upon this matter, their answer was, that there was no need of distinguishing the renditions of the colony, since the meaning of their letter was, that what slaves had been furnished by the Dutch should be left, and the rest should be carried off: so that if none were by them furnished between the first and second rendition, then none were to be left; but if any were, then those to be left, as well as such as had been furnished by the Dutch since the last rendition. And this point, I am confident, was debated by the Deputies, not upon any particular knowledge of what it imports, but only upon the general notion and reason of the thing, from which it will be very hard to make them recede: however, I shall use my endeavours in it, and be as glad as you can, of any good offices that I am able to render Major Bannister, though he has been the most troublesome acquaintance to me that I have ever had in my life. I pressed Monsieur de Witt and the Commissioners at our last meeting two days since, and particularly the Deputy of Zealand, for the dispatch of this business: but not having then your additions to my last paper, I could say nothing of them. Monsieur de Witt told me, a conference was appointed this day between the Commissioners of Holland and Zealand upon this business.

On Sunday night last the exchanges were made of the ratifications of the concert, with that from Spain for the future Swedish subsidies: but the Swedish and Dutch Ministers having each of them three originals of the concert, and not contenting themselves with authentic copies, as I had proposed, I am forced to give you the trouble of send-

ing two originals more of the ratifications of the concert, to be delivered to the Ministers of those two States upon my receiving the like from them. I will tell you by the way, that I had some reason to doubt whether the ratification you sent me would pass or no, though I thought it was not fit for me to make you any scruple upon it, unless it were first raised by the other Ministers here, and do not know whether it came in that form by choice, or by mistake: but I am sure the ratification, as it runs, is only of the guaranty with its clauses, of which the concert was never taken to be a part, and stands in need of a very strong deduction or connection with the words of the preface, which indeed mentions the concert as well as the guaranty: and you will find it very different from the ratification which came from Sweden (and goes here enclosed), and such as, I must confess, had I been the Spanish Ambassador, I should not have accepted, though neither he nor the Swedish Minister have yet taken notice of it. I thought not fit to communicate it to Monsieur de Witt, till the day before the exchange was to be made, because I knew it could not escape him, and did it then only between ourselves: and he immediately checked when he came to the words, *Supra memoratam garantiam;* and observed that there wanted the convention about forces, which was the sole end of their ratification; and thereupon he said immediately, *Cela n'est pas comme il faut* [This is not as it should be], but comparing it with those in the preface, he said at last, *Cela peut suffire* [This may do], and wished that others were no more scrupulous than he, where he knew the intentions were good: and so he made no farther mention of it upon our exchange of the ratifications; which I believe proceeded in him from the ill consequence, he foresaw, might arise upon the

discovery of a weakness of our instrument in this conjuncture, when our intentions in this affair are something more suspected than you assure me they deserve.

I hear the town of Amsterdam has consented to Monsieur Van Beuninghen's journey; but shall not be able to give you an assurance of it till my next, and content myself now with that of being always, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, May 15, N. S. 1670.

THE knowledge of your Lordship's absence from town has given you of late more ease than otherwise I intended; and your trouble now begins upon the first advice I had of your return, which was by your Lordship's of the 29th past, by which I find the suspicion you have conceived there of the late Spanish answer to his Majesty having been indited at the Hague: and withal you desire to know something more particular of Monsieur Van Beuninghen's errand into England. The first, I am confident, is without other ground than a common opinion we have conceived of more *finesse* than I have yet observed in the chief Ministers here, who are as hard and as firm as you can imagine them; but for tricks or juggling, I do not observe either their abilities or their disposition lies much that way; nor, I believe, does any wise man's, unless he be brought to it by the ill condition or necessity of his affairs, and finds no other way of living; which is not yet their case here, nor will be, I suppose, while Flanders is preserved: and so long I shall look upon them as merchants in good estate and credit, and who will endeavour to keep it up by square dealing: but whenever they fail in that adventure, I shall grow as jealous of them as I see

others are. I have enquired particularly of the Spanish Ambassador, and am assured by him, that all Monsieur de Witt's discourses upon that subject of the late answer from Spain agreed perfectly with what he made me upon the same occasion: and I know, the States Deputies at Brussels had immediate orders from hence to apply themselves very earnestly to the Constable for the redress of that fault: and I dare say, whoever thinks that these men here will quit a point of interest for a point of honour, has taken a wrong measure of them. The Spanish Ambassador bid me be assured that the answer from Spain will be amended, and come in all points to his Majesty's satisfaction: he goes this day from hence towards Brussels, being hastened thither by an express from the Constable, who, I believe, intends to make use of him in the junto there: upon whom, I hear, he will wholly devolve all his public business, having taken an attestation from his physicians that his ill health has rendered him wholly incapable of charging himself any longer with it.

For Monsieur Van Beuninghen's errand into England, I suppose the rise of it was of an old date; and occasioned a good deal by my laying often to their charge, the want of respect they shewed his Majesty in the choice of the Ministers they sent into England, who are seldom of the province of Holland, or of those persons most considered in this State. Besides, when I found I was not able to bring the business of our marine treaty to such a conclusion as we proposed, though I failed but in one article (which yet, it seems, is thought to import the whole of our pretensions there), I told them here, that it would be absolutely necessary to treat it in England, and bring it to some issue there; and for that purpose to send some able person over, who, being perfectly instructed in it

from hence, might debate there with persons as well instructed on our side. Upon these grounds, Monsieur Van Beuninghen's journey was thought fit above a year ago; but his being chosen Burgomaster of Amsterdam about the same time, made him then absolutely refuse it. Since his year expired, my instances still continuing for a conclusion in our East-India business, and Mr. Secretary Trevor's papers upon the same subject keeping life in it from time to time, Monsieur Van Beuninghen began, about two months since, to shew some inclination to the journey; which has been pursued very earnestly by the States here, and especially by Monsieur de Witt, till it came lately on all sides to be resolved on: so as your Lordship must reckon that the avowed errand will be the business of the East-India Company, and the clearing that part of the marine treaty which so long proved too hard for me here. Besides, this will be the compliment they pretend to make his Majesty, in sending a person of so much account amongst them as Monsieur Van Beuninghen; and with the orders of Surinam, which they here reckon upon as a perfect piece of compliance with his Majesty. And this is the account they give the French Ambassador of this journey; adding a good deal of Monsieur Van Beuninghen's inclination to see England in this season.

That which is farther meant by it is, first, in general to inform themselves perfectly of our temper in the pursuit of those ends we have been these two or three years last engaged in, and which many discourses and reflections of late have made them a little suspect, does not continue so equal and so warm as it began. And in this regard, it will be his business to use his best and most persuasive oratory to confirm us in the pursuit of those common interests abroad, which we have of late so

much advanced by our triple alliance, and the dependences of it; and, in short, to persuade us, that it is more our honour and our interest to lead than to follow. In pursuit of this, he will, I believe, endeavour to dispose us to accept a conjunction with such Princes of the Empire as desire it, upon such measures as are proposed in the late project I sent your Lordship drawn up by Monsieur de Witt: though I have made so good way in defending you upon this point, that I believe it would not cost much trouble there, unless you are willing to enter farther into it than you seemed of late.

Another point, and that which I believe he will most eagerly pursue, is the prohibition of French commodities, upon which his particular imagination has been long bent, as the only sure and easy way of bringing the French power and riches into decay, in case the thing could be agreed on among all or the greatest part of their neighbours: and this State having sounded the Spanish Court upon that point, received answer, that whatever England and they should agree upon, Spain would readily join with them in it: by which means they suppose, that besides what would be saved by both our nations, by stopping the vast importation of French commodities, a very great traffic would be gained by exporting our own, to furnish the Spanish fleet, which supplies their West-Indies every year, in a great measure, with commodities brought them from France. The resolutions of this State go as yet no farther, as I can hear, than to all sorts of wearing goods and brandy; nor do I know whether this itself will be brought to execution before they are satisfied how far we are likely to join with them in it; after which, the considerations of wine and salt will likewise come in play.

Besides these public matters, I doubt, you will likewise be pursued about Mr. Honywood's widow,

who is daughter to a Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and so most properly under Monsieur Van Beuninghen's protection, especially being a young and handsome widow; which, I hear, will tempt her to go over with him herself, and plead her own cause.

I do not think the intentions of his journey go farther than what I have mentioned, unless he be invited to any thing upon the place, or by some new accident from abroad. In the mean time, to do him right, we shall have a great deal of reason to welcome him, because he has very industriously employed himself in helping us to gain our point upon the business of Surinam, which was yesterday resolved on by the States General, though the province of Zealand protested against it: and besides, nothing has given us so hopeful a prospect of the Prince's good fortunes here, as the support of the town of Amsterdam, so declared and so warm in his present concernment; towards which I am confident Monsieur Van Beuninghen has very much contributed, as being a person of very great influence in that city. The state of that whole business is so well and so fully set down in the paper of intelligence, that I am sure I cannot amend it, and therefore will not repeat it.

Your Lordship will know by the enclosed, that Monsieur de St. Evremont set out this morning towards England, with the Portugal Ambassador likewise, who both accompany Monsieur d'Opdam as far as Nieuport, and there embark for Dover, whilst he goes on to meet the French King at Dunkirk with the States compliments. I am ever, my Lord, your, &c.

P. S. I had forgot to tell your Lordship, that another part of Monsieur Van Beuninghen's instructions will be, to endeavour all that can be that this State may be admitted into a conjunction with his

Majesty for the pursuit of the Algerines till they are reduced to the necessity of a peace with both.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Hague, May 27, N. S. 1670.

I HAVE this day received yours of the 13th current, with the account of my Lord of Essex's treatment in passing the Sound; which, if wholly new, was what we had very little reason to expect from that Crown since the change of their Ministry: though there are some reports here that they intend to keep up a close intelligence with France, for fear of the Swede, whose forces give them at this time, it seems, some jealousy. I will hope my Lord of Essex may receive the satisfaction he demands; however, he will have that of having discharged his part upon this occasion with the constancy that became him.

I do not question but you will receive a wiser answer, as you say, from Spain; and wish they could find wiser men to encharge with their great affairs and governments, than you will see they do by the accounts I know you receive from Brussels, of the Constable's late caprices in order to his return for Spain. It is here variously discoursed who shall succeed him: the old Empress and Prince Charles of Lorrain being still in name among some others; either of which, or both together, as it is talked of, seeming the best choice that can now be made by the Crown of Spain. It is wished here, that his Majesty would further it all he can by the offices of his Minister in that Court.

Yesterday the Spanish Ambassador's Secretary came to communicate to me a letter he had received from the Ambassador at Brussels; taking notice, that, upon a more particular observation of

our late ratification of the concert, the date of it was preceding to that of the concert itself, signed by me here at the Hague, which was the last of January N. S. whereas the ratification at Westminster bears date the 7th of January, O. S. And this remark of the Ambassador's I find to be true, by comparing it with the copy of the ratification that lies by me: and doubt not but the mistake only was of the month of January for February, in the ratification you sent me over. Whereupon I assured the Secretary, there could be no difficulty in the redress of it, and he desired me to endeavour it as soon as I could; and I hope the notice of it may come time enough to prevent the same mistake in the instruments intended for Sweden and Holland, as well as to procure a new one for Spain.

I could not by the last post give you the certainty of the issue in the Prince of Orange's affair, the States of Holland not rising till one o'clock that night, after the warmest debates which have been known among them for many years: however, the towns which favour the Prince having the plurality of voices, and Amsterdam in the head of them, at length carried their point, and brought it to a resolution, that the Prince should have session in the Council of State with a decisive voice; and should have the same place his ancestors were used to. After this was resolved on, that party which the most opposed the Prince's interest started two new points: the first, that no Captain-general should be chosen otherwise than from year to year, but by unanimity of voices; and secondly, that in case the Prince should be chosen Captain-general for life, then it should be again debated and resolved by plurality of voices, whether he should continue his session in the Council of State. And these two points were agreed to by all the towns excepting four or five, in which number were Amsterdam

and Haerlem; who maintain, that they were not now to be resolved, but then only when those matters came in question. The States of Holland being separated after these resolutions, the execution of that concerning the Prince's entrance into the Council of State will remain in the States General, and consequently receive no opposition that I can foresee: and though it bears no great name, yet I take it to be of that importance, as to leave his Highness's future fortunes in a manner wholly dependent upon his own carriage and personal qualities, which give hitherto all the signs that can be of advancing, and not impairing, them.

In the course of this business, Monsieur Van Beuninghen has so much provoked the ill-will and opinion of those towns which were contrary to the Prince, that they had almost resolved to make a stop of his journey; but that is now over, and he prepares to be gone the end of this week, and will not deserve to be less welcome in England for what has lately passed here: though perhaps it may not be to his advantage, nor to the Prince's neither, to give him any too public testimonies of it. He gave me hopes on Sunday night, that to-morrow the business of Surinam would be ended, according to the form I drew up in pursuit of our last conference, which I here send you enclosed: though he told me there would be difficulty in the point of Major Bannister's landing with so much liberty as is insisted on; and therefore he pressed me hard to be content with either remaining aboard his ships, or else lodging in the fort till his affairs were dispatched, where all convenience should be provided him: but I refused both; and so left the thing with him in the form it now runs. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Berkley.

My Lord, Hague, May 30, N. S. 1670.

THOUGH I know your Excellency would easily forgive me a commission which might save you a trouble in the midst of many others that are a great deal more necessary; yet I could not forgive myself if I should any longer delay giving your Lordship the assurances how great a part I take in all your fortunes, and consequently how much I have shared in the general satisfaction which I hear you have both left in England, and found in Ireland, upon your late entering upon the government of that kingdom. I am not only much pleased with it upon a private score, as one of your Lordship's servants, but as having always had the best wishes for the public good of that country, and his Majesty's service in the establishment of it: both which will, I am confident, thrive very much in your Lordship's hands; not only in regard of the great experience and abilities which are so generally allowed you, but because you are too rich, as well as too generous, to lose the merit and glory of great and honest actions in the cares of your own private fortunes: for this has too often given an alloy both to the worth and success of several of your Lordship's predecessors; and contributed chiefly to the unhappiness of the governors as well as of the country; both which, I hope, you will have the honour to restore. I cannot but observe to your Lordship, that I find by a general consent of the merchants here, that Ireland runs every year an eighth part in debt by importing so much beyond its exportation; which being to be drawn out in coin, will be a certain, though slow, consumption of the treasure of that kingdom, unless remedied by sumptuary laws, or examples for less-

ening the importation of foreign commodities; or else, industry for increasing the native, which are either consumed at home, or carried abroad: the first is like diet, but the other like exercise, to an indisposed body, which is the way of acquiring strength and vigour; whereas the former gives but barely health. I believe the two great improvements to be made in Ireland, are of the fishing and the linen trade; this to keep our money at home, and that to fetch more in from abroad. If your Lordship thinks these particulars worth your care, and that I can contribute towards them by any lights and assistances from hence, I shall be glad upon that or any other occasion to receive your commands.

I have given my secretary order to make an extract of the news which either arises here, or comes to me by letters from foreign parts; which shall go weekly to you, if you think it worth the trouble, and will please in return to do me the justice of esteeming me what I am, with much truth and passion, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, June 3, N. S. 1670.

I WAS extreme glad to find by your Lordship's of the 16th past, some assurance of your recovery; and whatever the name of your illness was, will believe the nature of it could not be very bad, since it left you so soon: after which I will trouble you no more with my remedies; nor shall I need any myself, after so great a one as your Lordship has given me by the knowledge of your own and my Lady's health: for which I make you my particular acknowledgments.

By observing the winds, I guess Monsieur Van

Beuninghen will, before this arrives, have given your Lordship the account himself of his leaving the Hague on Sunday night, and setting sail, I suppose, on Monday evening; unless Madam Honeywood made him stay some hours longer, who had appointed to be with him by that time from Amsterdam. I will say nothing in favour of her pretension, but that she is daughter to the ancientest Burgomaster of Amsterdam, who has expressed the greatest passion of any other of the States, in favour of the Prince of Orange's late concernment, and may perhaps thereby deserve some mark of his Majesty's favour, which I assure you I say wholly of myself: for my good offices in her business were not at all thought worth engaging, since Monsieur Van Beuninghen undertook it, as I suppose he has done by their joining company. Your Lordship will find nothing to lessen your esteem of his person, unless it be, that he is not always so willing to hear as to be heard; and out of the abundance of his imagination is apt sometimes to reason a man to death; which I tell your Lordship beforehand, that you may not fall into any prejudice before you know him well: and on the other side, I have taken some care to prevent his employing that talent too much in your conversations. For the rest, you will find him *fort honnête homme;* one that puts all the good of his country upon maintaining and cultivating his Majesty's alliance; and who, upon the Prince's occasion, will deserve the good will of our Court.

For his manner of negotiating, I am confident you will find him not ill-bred, nor offering to impose his measures, as you call them, upon us; but, after any propositions and reasons he shall lay before you, will rather tell you that you are masters of all; and that the States will, in all things that

concern our neighbours, perfectly follow those his Majesty shall take.

Whatever reception the States proposal about the Algerines meets with in England, I wish to God some better order were taken for preserving our honour in the Mediterranean: for, what with the ill conduct of our captains, that they say will turn merchants, leaving our merchants to play the men of war, and with the late shameless loss of Sapphire; I assure your Lordship, the reputation of our sea-affairs and men decays abroad to a degree that is very sensible I am sure to me, and I doubt will hardly recover without some new and severe discipline or examples.

The Prince of Orange was introduced into the Council of State on Saturday last, and with the circumstances which he is very well pleased with. He resolves upon his journey into England about the latter end of this month, or beginning of next: but will not fix the time till the Pensioner's return from Groningen about ten days hence. I am, my Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, June 17, N. S. 1670.

I was very glad to hear this morning of your Lordship's being well arrived in town; where, I hope, the diversions of your late journey have returned you with such an encrease of health as is necessary for the support of your great affairs, *Y para mi consuelo.* Many French have lately passed this way since the return of that Court; some who attended Madame into England, and extremely applauded her reception there, and his Majesty's great graciousness to those of her train. The Count d'Estrades came likewise three days since,

but I think barely on a visit to his old home; or if he has any business, it is particular, and at Amsterdam. I find, they all agree in assuring us of the peace, as long as we can assure them of the King of Spain's life: but in giving us fair warning that whenever that fails, their Master will march into the rest of Flanders without any circumstance, and possess himself of it if he can. This knowledge, and that of the King of Spain's late sickness, have given them some perplexity here, which is much relieved by this day's news of his recovery. But we find nothing yet towards the redress of the late untoward answer upon the arbitrage.

The Prince of Orange continues still the talk, as well as the desires of his journey into England: but has of late been very earnest to know my opinion, whether he be like to procure any satisfaction in his pretensions there; saying, as I guess, industriously, that all his best friends here are of opinion, that in case that should wholly fail him, his journey into England would prove of great prejudice to his affairs here, by letting his friends see how little he is considered by his Majesty, whose countenance will be a great support to him in the course of his fortunes.

I durst not offer his Highness the least judgment of my own upon this matter; assuring him I was wholly ignorant of all his Majesty's affairs, besides what related to this country; and particularly of the present state of his revenue, or how much the late supplies have contributed towards the ease of it: upon which the Prince seemed very desirous that I would touch this point to your Lordship, so as to have your thoughts upon it before he goes. This I suppose proceeds chiefly from the Princess Dowager, who declared her opinion positively to me some weeks ago upon this matter, to the same purpose, and, I hear, persists in it; which yet she does not in all things. For, I can assure your Lord-

ship, she now professes to be the most satisfied that can be with my conduct in relation to the Prince, and makes me more acknowledgments than are fit for me to receive, since I pretend only not to have spoiled his business, which it had been the easiest thing in the world for an English Minister here to have done. I wish to God he do nothing towards the prejudice of it himself, by advice of younger or warmer heads: for this is a country where fruit ripes slowly, and cannot be preserved if it be gathered green. I am very confident from his last, as well as the present dispositions I here discern, that his fortunes are in his own hands; and I hope he will make great advantages in the conduct of them, by your Lordship's advices when he sees you in England, of whose prudence and virtues he will go over with a very full persuasion.

Monsieur de Witt returned yesterday to town, after fifteen days absence at Groningue, about the composing some differences in that province.* There is a violent humour runs against him of late in the town of Amsterdam, upon pretext of his growing too far into the sway of all affairs in this State by so long a ministry; and of advancing his own friends into offices and places of trust with too much industry. But I suppose the bottom of this is the same with that of all popular humours; that is, a design in the leaders to change the scene, that so those who have been long employed may make room for those who have been long out. I am not of opinion they will succeed to prejudice him suddenly, both because his chief enemies acknowledge his great abilities and usefulness to the State, and because he will always have it in his power to fall in very considerably

* This was a year or two before he was massacred.

with the Prince's interest, which the other party pretends to promote: though in such a case his Highness would have a hard choice with which wind to sail; as indeed he is likely to fall into conjunctures here that will require all his prudence.

I thought fit to say thus much at once to your Lordship, that so you may the better know what to make of twenty reports that may arise upon these occasions. Though it will, I think, after all, be our parts both in England and here, to seem the least we can concerned in them, farther than our wishes to the perfect union of a State we are so near allied to; which we may, I suppose, own our opinion of, that it will never be compassed but by taking in the Prince's interests, as far as can consist with the liberty of the State; and making such a person of him, as may in title, expence, and other circumstances, represent the dignity of their commonwealth. I am ever, my Lord, your, &c.

To the Earl of Northumberland.

My Lord, Hague, June 17, N. S. 1670.

By the same post which brought me the honour of a late letter from your Lordship, I received from other hands the news of my Lord of Northumberland's having left to you the succession of all his honours and fortunes; which gives me the occasion of acknowledging your Lordship's favour and memory: and at the same time of condoling with you upon the loss of a father, whose great virtues and qualities must needs have made so many sharers with you in this affliction. I hope the help which is given your Lordship by so many of your servants and friends upon this occasion, will serve to ease your own part in it: and that, after all that can be offered up to decency and to the memory of so great and excellent a person, this will find

your Lordship rather taken up with the imitation of his virtues, than the bewailing of his loss: since this is but what he owed to nature and to age, and to the course of long infirmities; and the other is what will be due from your Lordship, all your life, to your birth, your family, and yourself. Nor indeed can ever so much depend upon so few paces, as will now, upon those your Lordship shall make at your first setting out; since all men will be presaging by them the course of your journey, as they will have indeed influence upon the ease as well as the direction of it. For my own part, I expect a great increase of your Lordship's personal honour upon this occasion; and that having been so excellent a son of a family, you will shew yourself the same in being now a father of it; since nothing makes men fit to command, like having learned to obey; and the same good sense and good dispositions make men succeed well in all the several offices of life. Those, I know, will be your Lordship's safety in entering upon a scene, where you will find many examples to avoid, and few to imitate: for I have yet seen none so generally corrupted as ours at this time, by a common pride and affectation of despising and laughing at all face of order, and virtue, and conformity to laws; which, after all, are qualities that most conduce both to the happiness of a public state, and the ease of a private life.

But your Lordship will, I hope, make a great example, instead of needing other than those of your own family, to which so much honour, order, and dignity, have been very peculiar; as well as the consequences of them in the general applause, and the particular esteem of all those who have had the honour to know and observe it. Among whom there is none more desirous to express that inclination by his services, nor that has more of

it at heart, than, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant.

To the Great Duke of Tuscany.

Hague, June 27,
Sir, N. S. 1670.

HAVING so long taken part in whatever concerns the person or interests of your most serene Highness, I could not fail to condole with you for your great loss, whereof all Christendom would have been sensible to the last degree, if the grief for such an accident were not lessened by the succession of a Prince who has left such impressions of his person and merits where-ever he has appeared, as will never be worn out.

It is true, such is the composition of human things, that nothing is pure or without mixture; so that even upon this occasion I see some ground to mix my congratulation with my condolence, when I consider that your Highness has finished your travels before the accession of this glorious charge. Your Highness has added to your birth and wit, all the advantages that the commerce of strangers is accustomed to give; and you now find occasion for the exercise of all, towards the government of your subjects. My wishes and applauses shall not be wanting to your Highness; though I know your conduct and good fortune will give me little occasion but for the latter, as your Highness's great

Au Grand Duc de Toscane.

De la Haye, 27 Juin,
Monsieur, S. N. 1670.

Ayant pris depuis longtems une aussi grande part dans tout ce qui touche la personne ou les interêts de V. A. Sme, je ne pouvois manquer à m'affliger avec elle à l'occasion de la perte qu'elle vient de faire, & qui est telle, que la Chrêtienté en seroit inconsolable, si la douleur d'un evènement si triste n'étoit soulagée par l'idée du Prince qui vient remplir la succession; on sçait que c'est un Prince qui a laissé de sa personne & de son merite, par tout où il a paru, des impressions qui ne s'effaceront jamais.

Il est vray, que telle est la composition des choses humaines, que rien n'y est pur & sans melange; le bien & le mal ne se laissent guere gouter séparement. En cette rencontre donc je vois dequoy mêler mes congratulations à mes condolances; je fonde les premieres sur ce que V. A. Sme avoit achéve tous ses voyages lors qu'un si glorieux fardeau luy est tombé en partage. Elle a ajouté au bonheur de sa naissance, & à la penetration de son ésprit, tout ce que le commerce & la comparaison de divers étrangers chez qui elle avoit sejourné, a accoutumé de donner. Cette riche moisson étant à peine faite, tant de talens sont mis en ouvrage, & V. A. se voit à present obligée de les consacrer au soin du gou-

qualities have already given me a great deal, to be, Sir, your Highness's most humble and most faithful servant.

vernement de ses sujets. Mes vœux & mes applaudissemens manqueront jamais à V. A. quoyque sa conduite & sa prosperité me repondent que je ne feray usage que de ces derniers: ses grandes qualitez avoient deja fourni beaucoup de motifs d'être, Monsieur, de V. A. Sme, le très humble & très fidelle serviteur.

To Sir William Godolphin.

Sir, Hague, July 3, N. S. 1670.

I HAVE not had any thing of late worth your trouble, nor any of yours by me to acknowledge; though I should have been glad to have received from your hand the assurance of what comes to me more uncertainly from others, of the Catholic King's perfect recovery, and the Junto's disposition to admit simply of his Majesty and the King of Sweden's arbitrage, as was proposed. The great deadness of the season in point of news would have excused you this trouble, but that the Swedish Minister here begins to pursue me hard for my offices towards the Spanish Court for the second payment, which he reckons to be already due by the expiration of eight months since the delivery of the guaranty. But Monsieur de Witt and I are both of opinion, the Spanish Ambassador's act may very well be construed to signify eight months from the signing of the concert, which Spain always insisted upon as an essential part of the guaranty; and to begin the payments only upon the signing of it, which was the last of January past; by which calculation the second payment will grow due at the end of next September. But this is fitter to be argued by Spain than by us: and that which is more necessary, is for them to provide so as the money may be ready here by that term, to recover

by the fairness and ease of this payment the credit they lost in Sweden by the difficulties of the last. In the mean time, if you can persuade the Spanish Court to signify to the Swedish Minister either there or here, that they have been put in mind of it by you; and to have it so much in their care as to provide that it shall not fail at the end of September, which they take to be the term it grows due; you will, I suppose, perform an office both necessary and grateful to all the parties interested in that affair. The Dutch would have enjoined it to their Minister, if they had any present at Madrid; the want of which gives you more than your share in these transactions. They would fain engage Monsieur Beverning to accept of that employment; which I wish for your sake, but I doubt its succeeding.

The Prince of Orange intends to go for England about the end of this month; and my Lord Ossory is shortly expected here to attend him in his journey. I am always, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

To the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Hague, July 7, N. S. 1670.

I HAVE received by this last post the favour of one from your Excellency of the 18th past, which gives me the hopes of a sudden dispatch in your present negotiations, and the very welcome news of your intention to pass this way in your return; where I shall be very glad to find the occasions I desire of serving your Lordship in a place that indeed better deserves a passing visit than any long abode.

Your Excellency will have received by a former letter my condolements upon my Lord Northumberland's death, which indeed was very untimely for

himself, his family, and his friends. But if we needed greater examples how little defence is to be found against that enemy either from greatness or from youth, we should have received a very sufficient, as well as a very sad one, by an express which brought this morning the news of Madame's death, by particular letters both to the States and to the Prince of Orange.

The French courier being not expected till tomorrow morning, I have not yet received any letter of it from my Lord Ambassador at Paris; and therefore shall give your Lordship the relation just as it comes in the Prince's letter, which says, that on Sunday last, being the 29th of June, N. S. Madame having eaten very well at dinner, and continued so some hours afterwards, about four o'clock in the afternoon called for a glass of succory water, which she used to take every day about that hour; and having drank it off complained that it was very bitter, and presently after began to find herself ill, and fell into violent fits of the cholic; upon which she said she was sure she should die, and immediately sent for her confessor, and with great resolution disposed herself to it, by passing through all the forms of that church upon such occasions. The news of her Highness's illness was immediately dispatched from St. Clou, where the court then was, and occasioned the King's coming presently to her, who arrived about eight o'clock that night, and brought his chief physician with him; who both began to comfort her sickness, and assure her, that her cholic could not easily carry away a person of her age. But she persisted in assuring them of her death, spoke a good while softly to the King; and afterwards said aloud, that she had no regret at all to die; but that her greatest trouble was by so hard a separation to lose his Majesty's friendship and good graces which he had always expressed to

her. She spoke to Monsieur in the same terms about her great willingness to die; which, she said, was the more, because she had nothing to reproach herself of in her conduct towards him.

The King left her about ten o'clock at night, his physician assuring him she could not die of a cholic, or at least not so suddenly as she seemed to apprehend: but her illness and pain increasing, she expired about two o'clock in the morning, leaving great sadness in that Court, and regret in all those who had the honour to know her.

Your Excellency will easily imagine how sensibly his Majesty will be touched by this affliction; and therefore I am sure you will receive the same part in it that I and all the rest of his servants ought to do: which I shall not increase by enlarging upon so sad a story, farther than by one particular more of the Prince's letter; that her body being opened in the presence of several persons, and among them my Lord Ambassador, they could not find the cause of so sudden a death.

Our news from Brussels is, that the Constable was to depart from thence on Saturday last, leaving the Count de Monterey governor of those countries by the Queen Regent's commission for the *interim*, until a new governor should be sent from Spain, who they give out will be Don John, and that he will be there in a very little time, and take upon him that government for his life: but the certainty of this we must expect hereafter from Spain. The Danish Envoy here tells me, he intends to go very shortly for Copenhagen, and that he hopes to find your Excellency there, wherein I confess I differ with him. I should be very glad to know whether he did me the right of conveying a letter I wrote to Monsieur Guldenlew, in answer to one I received from him upon his last arrival in Denmark. Your Lordship will oblige me to let one of your

secretaries inform himself from one of his, whether such a letter was received, without drawing it into any farther consequence.

I beseech your Lordship to believe me always what I am with very much sincereness, my Lord, your Excellency's most faithful and most humble servant.

To my Lord Berkeley.

My Lord, Hague, July 11, N. S. 1670.

I RECEIVED one from your Excellency of the 11th past, by which you were pleased both to oblige and inform me: nor could any thing happen more agreeable to me than an occasion of acknowledging as I ought the favour you there express both to my friends in Ireland and to me: of which I am equally sensible.

I doubt not but your Lordship will find in the loose posture of affairs in Ireland, a great subject for your prudence and industry; in the application whereof I wish your Lordship all success and glory, being incapable at this distance to make any reflections on particulars, either the evils or the redresses: only as an old servant I may have the liberty of putting your Lordship in mind of one point wherein your reputation is much concerned, and upon which I doubt you do not much reflect: but if you should continue this luxurious custom of getting a lusty boy every year, people will think that you live like a voluptuous young man of twenty years old, and not like a staid and wise governor of a kingdom: nor am I very well satisfied myself, whether it be a thing that consists with the gravity of a privy counsellor, much less of a Lord Lieutenant. But when I consider that of so good a race we cannot have too many, I am forced to leave my censures to give your Lordship much joy of your Irishman.

We have nothing here in discourse but the sad and surprising news of Madame's death: of which your Lordship will have the particulars from so many hands, that I will not repeat them; nor enter into the general reflections that are made upon it in all places, I think, I am sure here, without scruple or dispute.

The Constable is gone for Spain, and left his government much as he held it: nor can I judge whether it came from his natural temper, or some contracted indispositions; for his health has been of late the cover for it: but these six or eight months past, he has been obstinate to hear nothing of business, returning all that has offered by his nearest officers, with * *Quire matarme?* and passing his time with his virginals, his dwarf, and his *graciosoes.* Some say, his imaginations reached so far as to raise up spirits and assassins when he was alone.

If Spain has no greater men, it is pity they have so great use of them; for, I am sure, *Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis tempus eget.* He has left the government for the *interim*, by the Queen Regent's order, to the Count de Monterey, whom he hated; and I hear Count Marsyn says, he will not obey a man † *qui ne fait que naître;* because he is but twenty-eight years old; but they have succeeded so ill with one ‡ *qui ne songeoit qu'à mourir*, that I think it will not pass for a very just exception; and our friend Count Marsyn, who is hot at hand, will, I hope, come to himself, and help to keep all things quiet in Flanders till Don John's arrival, which is now talked of, but I am not the easiest to believe it.

I beg your Lordship's favour, or rather justice, both to esteem and use me as, my Lord, your, &c.

* *Why do you kill me?* † *Who is but just born.*
‡ *Who thought of nothing but dying.*

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, July 15, N. S. 1670.

I WAS very glad to find that the great measure of his Majesty's grief upon Madame's death was a little lessened by the satisfaction he had received, that it had passed without that odious circumstance which was at first so generally thought to have attended it; and of which I endeavour in my discourse here to allay the suspicions, since I see his Majesty is convinced; though it is a very difficult matter to succeed in, after so general a possession, which has been much increased by the Princess Dowager's curiosity, to ask her physicians opinions upon the relation transmitted hither to one of them from his brother, who is the Dutch Secretary at Paris; and pretends it came from Dr. Chamberlain, though something different from what he transmitted into England. However it happened, it had certainly all the circumstances to aggravate the affliction to his Majesty; which I am infinitely touched with, as well as with the sense of an accident in itself so deplorable: but it is a necessary tribute we pay for the continuance of our own lives, to bewail the frequent, and sometimes untimely, deaths of our friends. *Et levius fit patientiâ quicquid corrigere est nefas.*

The Baron d'Isola parted this day for Brussels; from whence he told me he would answer your Lordship's last letter, by which he pretends to have drawn confidence of his proposal's succeeding in England with the temper the Dutch had given it here: but he does not press the matter much at present, because he does not pretend that the Emperor's resolutions are fully taken upon it, nor will be till after the interview, which is, as he says, about this time contrived between the Electors of

Mentz and Triers; where an envoy from the Emperor, another from the Duke of Lorrain, and (as the Baron pretends) from some other German Princes, are to intervene, where the measures will be fully taken among them. In case his Majesty should fall into the thoughts of admitting that conjunction, as Monsieur de Witt tells me he has likewise some hopes given him from Monsieur Van Beuninghen; I think it were best, however, reserving the declaration of any such consent until he were very well assured of the Emperor's and the other German Princes final and firm resolutions; which I know not whether we may be confident of learning from the Baron d'Isola, whose business seems to be rather first to draw out our points, and make them his ground for persuading his Court to agree with them; and thereby value himself both to his Master, the German Princes, and others, upon his own being the author of so great a negotiation: and perhaps, if his Majesty have a mind to see the bottom of it, and wishes it effected for common interest sake, he could not do better than to acquaint the Elector of Mentz privately with his thoughts upon it, and leave him to make use of that knowledge towards the preparing all pieces for the work. For I find that Prince must be the spring of all the motions that are made in it on the German side: so that all will depend upon his dispositions and conduct; which for my part I pretend not to understand yet in this affair: for though his late Envoy here visited me with great professions from his Master to his Majesty, and much civility to me; yet I fell into no sort of plain or confident discourse with him upon this matter; but finding him rather shy in it, I resolved not to be behind-hand with him in that point: and so we parted as wise as we met.

By this day's post I hear, the Count de Monterey is declared Governor of Flanders by way of *interim;* which yet may last longer than is thought of, according to the slowness or uncertainty of the Spanish counsels, especially Don John having now finally refused to accept that charge. The Count Marsyn, I hear, says he will not obey a man *qui ne fait que naître;* because the Count Monterey is but twenty-eight years old, and therefore sets on foot already many brigues against him both in Spain and Flanders, which we here fear may produce very ill effects by increasing the disorders of Flanders, and thereby the temptations of France; though I hope our friend, who you know is something hot at hand, may yet come to himself: for methinks his exception against the new Governor is not very just, after having so long obeyed a man that thought of nothing but dying, and, for ought I hear, was by that apprehension rendered unfitter for his post than any he could have met with to leave in it, without very great luck. They much persuade me here to make a journey to Brussels in this conjuncture, having heard me speak of it this summer, and of having his Majesty's leave, because they know I am acquainted with those at present upon the scene: I find their Deputies have no credit there, and come back only with dissatisfaction and complaints: I see nothing like to take me up here, when I have observed this assembly of the States of Holland, and what they will do and promise further in the Prince's business, which a fortnight will determine, and therefore am well enough inclined to it: but should be much the more, if his Majesty should think fit to compliment the Count Monterey upon this occasion, and save the expence of any express person, by sending him a letter with me to be delivered as one that goes wholly *incog-*

nito, and without any character, as was last year intended I should have done to the Constable: of which your Lordship can easily satisfy me.

I find the Prince has put off the thoughts of his journey till towards the sitting of the Parliament, upon which your Lordship has writ, by whose advice his Highness resolves to steer in the course of his affairs and motions relating to England. I am ever, my Lord, your, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Hague, July 22, N. S. 1670.

I AM at once to acknowledge both yours of the 1st and 5th current, with the enclosed names of the Scots Ministers in the first; and in the other the last paper concerted with Monsieur Van Beuninghen concerning the affair of Surinam.

Upon what concerns the Scots Ministers, I gave in yesterday a memorial to the States; upon which I received this day a message from them, expressing their readiness to perform all parts of their treaties with his Majesty; and desiring to know from me the several present abodes of the said persons, to the end they might direct their orders to them accordingly. But in this point I was not able to answer them at so short warning, having not yet upon enquiry heard of any of the three persons, excepting Mackard, who, it seems, lived some months since privately at Utrecht; but whether he continues still there or no, I am yet ignorant; and therefore I told the States Agent, that I would endeavour to inform myself of their abodes if I could; but would not take upon me to find them out in any certain place, since it was the custom and interest of such men to be as private as they could, and to shift often: and therefore I did not see any thing like to reach them but a pub-

lication of their names, with the States orders for their avoiding these dominions; which at some time and place or other could not fail of coming to them, and have the same effect that could be expected from a more particular direction.

I spoke with Monsieur de Witt this morning concerning your last paper of Surinam, which he perused, having not seen it before, nor heard any thing of it from Monsieur Van Beuninghen; and therefore he said the States could not fall upon the debate of it without knowing upon what grounds or considerations Monsieur Van Beuninghen might have made these changes since his last paper upon this subject, which they expected would have been final in this matter. Besides some point wherein he thought the style not so clear, he observed two main alterations in the substance: the first is, that our ships could not carry * *des canons montés dans la riviere;* which, he said, imports that they might carry what cannon they please, so they were not mounted, which is not the business of an hour's time, and is contrary (as he said) to your first agreement with Monsieur Van Beuninghen. The second was concerning Major Bannister, whose landing is here positively allowed, with the liberty of going to his own colony: both which were (as he says) referred in Monsieur Van Beuninghen's last paper to the Governor's discretion and judgment, whether it might be done without danger to the colony. Upon both these points we had large discourses, which ended with his assuring me, that he should be the last to raise any scruples upon either of them; but doubted that the Zealanders might thereupon (especially the last concerning Major Bannister) change their late protestations to clamours, which might occasion the States-General

* *Cannons mounted in the river.*

to make more difficulty in these changes, unless they were satisfied in the reasons of them by Monsieur Van Beuninghen's dispatches, to which all was of necessity to be referred.

I hear Monsieur Lionne entertained the Dutch Secretary at Paris with the news he had received from Madrid of that Crown's joining this State with his Majesty and Sweden in the arbitrage; and at the same time with many reasons why his Master could not admit of it, though he said he had not yet communicated it to him: however, the declared opinion of such a Minister seems to raise a strong prejudice in the case.

I am sorry the business of conventicles gives you so much trouble, and could wish we were at a good end of all such controversies, which make his Majesty appear abroad to have so great and considerable a number of subjects that have not learned to obey him, and consequently make up no part of his strength, but seem rather to lessen it, and amuse people both at home and abroad with imaginations of changes. Yet Monsieur Van Beuninghen hath represented it hither as a business which his Majesty will easier master than you seem to be confident of: but their interest here may help them to believe as well as to desire it, upon the expectation of so many persons and stocks as will be brought over to them upon this occasion; and make, as they suppose, a considerable increase of their trade and diminution of ours. I am always, Sir, your, &c.

To the Count de Monterey.

Hague, July 22, N. S. 1670.

My Lord,

HAVING long taken part in what regards the person and interests of your Excellency,

Au Comte de Monterey.

De la Haye, 22 Juill, S. N. 1670.

Monsieur,

Ayant pris depuis longtems beaucoup de part dans tout ce qui touche la person & les interêts de

and having heard of your advancement to so great a charge as that of Governor of the Netherlands, I would not fail of giving you joy, and letting you know the satisfaction I receive by it upon many accounts. For, since by the force of the present conjunctures, it will be often necessary for me, in the post I am in, to have something or other to negotiate with the Governor of Flanders about the common interests; I shall be very glad to enter into business where I have already entered into friendship, and to have to deal with a person who has already given me so many testimonies of his fair and prudent manner of transacting, as well as of his particular inclination for confirming the alliance between the Crowns of both our Masters, and for the advancement of their interests, wherein the welfare and repose of Christendom are concerned. And whereas the good order of affairs in Flanders is very important to his Majesty and the other parties of the triple alliance, as well as to the Crown of Spain, I will hope that, by your Excellency's conduct, some good order may be taken for settling the affairs of the militia of this country; and in the mean time an end be put to the complaints and miseries of the inhabitants, since a government is never well established but in the hearts of the subjects; nor so hard to be shaken, as when the generality of the people, as well as the nobility, finds no interest in the change. I doubt not but your

V. E. & venant d'apprendre qu' elle a été pourvûe d'une charge aussi importante que l'est celle de Gouverneur de Païs-bas; je n'ay pas voulu manquer à luy donner el para bien, *& temoigner la joye que j'en ay ressenti pour plusieurs raisons. Car puisque par l'enchainement des conjonctures presentes, & dans le poste où je suis, il me sera souvent necessaire de negotier, & d'avoir quelque chose à demêler avec le Gouverneur de Flandres, je seray fort aise d'avoir une liaison d'affaires avec celuy avec qui j'ay deja des liaisons d'amitié; je me felicite d'avoir à faire à un sage dispensateur qui m'a deja donné tant de marques de sa noble & judicieuse maniere d'agir. Avec quelle joye n'ay-je point vû vôtre penchant particulier à affermir l'alliance entre les deux Couronnes de nos Maîtres, & vôtre inclination à avancer des interêts qui ne tendent aujourdhuy qu' à procurer le bonheur & le repos de la Chrêtienté. Comme sa Majesté & ceux de la triple alliance ont fort à cœur l'état des affaires de Flandres, aussi bien que la Couronne d'Espagne; je me fais un plaisir de penser que par la bonne conduite de V. E. on fera enfin quelque bon reglement touchant la milice de Païs-bas, & qu'en même tems on mettra fin aux plaintes & aux miseres des habitans; puis qu'un gouvernement n'est jamais si sûrement établi, que lors qu'il a son siege dans le cœur des sujets. Rien n'est si difficile à ébranler qu'un état où la multitude du peuple aussi bien que la noblesse n'apperçoit point d'avantage dans un changement. Je ne doute point*

Excellency proposes these ends, and will succeed in them, because you are too generous to mix with them your own passions or particular interests, which will not be less glorious to you than profitable and happy to Christendom. And besides the advantage Spain will make by your Excellency's good conduct, they will save themselves the trouble to think of a new Governor, or to end an interim so advantageous to them.

My best wishes shall not be wanting to your Excellency, nor my services upon all occasions where they shall be necessary; for no man is with more esteem and truth than I am, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and most affectionate servant.

que V. E. ne se soit deja proposé toutes ces fins, & qu'elle n'y reussisse, ayant une élevation d'ame asses grande pour n'y laisser point entrer ses propres passions, ni aucun interêt personel. Une telle conduite ne luy sera pas moins glorieuse qu'elle sera utile pour la Chrêtienté, & outre le profit que l'Espagne en tirera, elle luy sauvera le soin de songer à un nouveau Gouverneur, & luy fera prendre le parti de prolonger un si heureux interim.

Mes vœux ne manqueront jamais à V. E. & mes services seconderont mes vœux, toutes les fois qu'ils luy seront necessaires; car il n'y a personne qui soit avec plus d'estime & de verite que je suis, monsieur, vôtre, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Hague, July 29, N. S. 1670.

I AM to acknowledge one from you of the 12th, and hope the Dutch captain you therein mention is before this time arrived, and will prove what you desire him, and thereby deserve the encouragement you intend him. I know not why Monsieur Van Beuninghen should at present revive the proposition concerning the Emperor's admission, since Monsieur —— confesses he thinks there will be difficulties made in it by the Emperor himself, who has not yet declared himself to the Elector of Mentz, nor, I believe, to the Baron d'Isola neither; though it be true what you observe, that it ought to be authenticly demanded on that side.

I hear no hopes at all from France of admitting this State into a part of the arbitrage: so that if

Spain persists in the demand of it, as France no doubt will do in the refusal, we shall be as much to seek in the end of the year as we were in the beginning.

For what concerns the commands I received about the three Scotch Ministers; though I cannot find out their present abodes, yet I question not to obtain what is desired against them. There can only be one scruple, if these States will adhere strictly to the treaty, which is the authentic knowledge of their being declared rebels by his Majesty; which I should be glad to know if it be so, though I shall in the mean time pursue it as if I expected no farther informations.

I have so far pressed them here upon assenting to the last paper transmitted by Monsieur Van Beuninghen upon the affair of Surinam, that the States of Holland have agreed to it, and appointed three persons to endeavour either to dispose or to quiet the Zealanders, and to pass it in the States General: and I hope it will succeed, the town of Amsterdam concerning themselves particularly in it for the support of Monsieur Van Beuninghen's credit.

The assembly of the States of Holland will separate on Friday next, and are yet likely to agree in the long agitated impositions upon the French commodities before they part; the town of Rotterdam having (as I hear) this day at length assented; but with condition that it shall not be executed till after Monsieur de Groot's arrival in France, and account from thence whether that King be disposed to dispense with the late rigours there used for discouraging all Dutch commodities.

Though nothing has been yet mentioned in this assembly concerning the Prince, yet I am made believe they may, before they part, settle a pension upon him, though a small one, of twenty-four

or thirty thousand franks a year, being only in consideration of his session in the Council of State. I am always, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Hague, Aug. 12, N. S. 1670.

SINCE my last, the States Agent brought me a copy of the letter they had agreed on to the Governor of Surinam; which, I suppose, they delayed till about the time of their dispatching it away, because they knew I would except against the limitation given to Major Bannister's landing; though they assure me the Governor shall have orders not to hinder it, without very evident knowledge of the ill consequence it may have upon the peace of the colony; and that the Zealanders were so sharp in this point, that they could not pass it in any other form. I have likewise, since my last, been assured, from the several Ministers here, that the orders I desire concerning the Scotch Ministers would be granted; but, that the thing being proposed to the States of Holland then assembled, whom it most concerned, the persons being supposed to be in their province, several of the Deputies declared they would not resolve without communicating it first to their towns, among whom those of Rotterdam were the chief: but their Pensioner, Monsieur de Groot, upon his departure from hence last Saturday towards France, assured me of his endeavours to clear all scruples in it before he left that town.

I have since received your commands in one of the 24th past concerning * Coronet Joyce, to which I can yet make no return, Monsieur de Witt being

* Mentioned in the histories of K. Charles I. for removing that King by force from Holmeby.

out of town, and not expected till to-morrow: and I must first break it to him, by whom I can best know what I may hope for from the States in it; and withal contrive how it may pass with such circumstances of secrecy, that the noise may not go before the shot. By the next I hope to give you an account how I am likely to succeed; and in the mean time will only assure you of my utmost diligence in a matter wherein you say his Majesty is so much concerned.

I doubt not but a great part of Monsieur Van Beuninghen's errand was to dispose us towards the admission of the Emperor, and therefore wonder not at his enforcing that proposition: but yet, sure the ground of his journey was the desire of finding some temper in the business of the East-India trade, wherein I am very glad you hope for satisfaction from him; I mean upon that single article which has so long stopped the marine treaty, and foiled me absolutely in the pursuit of it. For the other point, I know not yet whether Monsieur de Witt has received any new account from Mentz of the Emperor's intentions; nor how much it signifies what the Baron d'Isola tells me, that the Imperial Minister there has declared his Master's resolution, of referring himself wholly to that Elector for the conduct and conclusion of that affair: and that the said Elector hath declared his judgment of its being both fit and necessary; but that as to the proposition of forces to be furnished by the several Princes, he could not proceed to ascertain it without more particular directions from the Emperor, though his Minister there pressed him to it. All which seems to me a very general and loose account for his Majesty to proceed upon; and to have something of the Baron d'Isola in it, as well as of the negotiations of Mentz: and yet

this is all the light I can get at present; nor do I well know where to expect better, the States Envoy having already left that place.

I shall not fail of performing all the offices you please to enjoin me towards the preserving our mutual confidence in this conjuncture; which I have endeavoured in all my discourses here upon the Duke of Buckingham's journey into France, since I first heard of it: and I am confident to have succeeded with the most rational and intelligent. For common authors, they are not to be dealt with, being too many and too credulous to be reasoned with upon such points; the best is, their credit is of as little weight as their belief, and at last truth will ever out.

I hear the Count Molina parted from Madrid upon his way through France into England about sixteen days since; so as he ought to be by this time well advanced. The Spanish Ambassador is likewise upon his return from Brussels hither; which, with other marks, confirms me in the opinion of the Count de Monterey's being likely to find a long *interim* in the government of Flanders.

I have nothing more to increase your trouble, besides the profession of my being always, Sir, your, &c.

To Mr. Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Aug. 12, N. S. 1670.

I AM to acknowledge the favour I have lately received of two from you of the 22d and 26th past, with the advices you were pleased to give me of what passes with you in my Lord Arlington's absence: and know not what better return I can make you from so barren a scene as this is at present, but continuing the orders I gave upon Mr. Blaithwait's going out of town, for all the prints,

as well as the papers of occurrences, to be constantly transmitted to you by my other secretary Mr. Downton; who tells me he does not fail you in these points, no more than I shall do in any other wherein I can serve you here.

I thought, in a time of so little motion or talk, to have used his Majesty's leave for a short journey into Flanders; but some small matter still arises to keep me from being wholly idle; and, among others, the shadow of the Surinam business haunts me still, though Monsieur Van Beuninghen assured me he would lay it upon his going over. I should be glad to know if you find him as eloquent in a Court as they do in an Assembly of States here, and that he proves as good at concluding as at reasoning.

I know, to a person of so much business an empty letter is an interruption, therefore will add nothing to this, but the profession of being, Sir, your most humble servant.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Hague, Aug. 15, N. S. 1670.

Upon Tuesday night Monsieur de Witt returned to town; and the next morning I went to him upon the affair wherewith you had charged me in your two last letters, whereof that of the 29th past gave me notice of the yacht's being dispatched away. I related the occasion to Monsieur de Witt, and his Majesty's desire upon it, as near as I could, in the manner and terms you had imparted them to me; adding of my own whatever I could think of, concerning the interest of this State in such compliance to his Majesty, especially where his person was concerned; and how fit it was for them to pass over the want of small circumstances and obligations of treaties, in matters of so great im-

portance to a King so nearly allied to them, and in whose safety and quiet they were so deeply concerned. He allowed all this latter part of my discourse; and for the matter itself which I desired, he told me, that whatever the States were obliged to by the treaty, they had power to enjoin the execution of, because every province had already given their consent to it: but in other matters the States General had no power upon any point wherein the jurisdiction of a particular province was concerned: the union consisting of seven provinces, whose sovereignty remained still entire to each of them. That for this reason it was impossible to seize upon a man residing in Holland, and send him over to his Majesty, by any other power but that of the States of Holland, who were not now assembled. That the seizing of those criminals by Sir George Downing, happened to have been desired at a time when the States were assembled, who gave their general consent to it: whereas if the town wherein they were had dissented and stood upon their privileges, it had not been in the authority of the States of Holland themselves to command it.

After my expostulations upon these forms in their government, which made it much harder to treat with them, than they found it to treat with other Princes; and Monsieur de Witt's deduction of the several sovereignties of their provinces, and privileges of their towns, from their original, as well as the framing them into an union (rather than a government) for their common defence; we fell at last into the consideration of what could be done upon the present business, since we had found what could not. And he told me, with great professions of his own desire to see it succeed, that if I put in a memorial to the States General, besides the danger of having it grow public, I should

lose just so much time; whereas all they could do would be but to recommend it to the Committee de Raedt of Holland, to dispose the Magistrates of Rotterdam to seize upon the person I desired, and keep him safely guarded, without suffering any approach to him but by my order, until the next assembly of the States of Holland, which will be about a month hence: and this, he said, the Committee might do of themselves; and he hoped they would, upon my writing a letter to the President, especially if I would take the pains to speak beforehand to the several members of it: and in this he promised me his assistance; and withal, that if the Magistrates of Rotterdam would seize and guard him till the assembly of the States of Holland, he would then use all his endeavours to dispose the said assembly to send him over to the King, though he doubted much difficulty in it; and that the town of Rotterdam would never consent to it, without an act from his Majesty to the States, that he should be remanded to their town after he had been examined: for without such an act, he said, the town of Dort had absolutely refused to send a person within their jurisdiction to the States themselves.

Upon all these discourses I resolved, as the best I could do, to speak severally that evening with all the members of the Committee de Raedt that were in town, which I did as late as I could, so as to give the least time for the matter's taking vent. They all agreed in the same account of the constitution of their government, which Monsieur de Witt had given me; and assured me they would act as far in this business as they could do if it came to them from the States General: but withal agreed they could do no more than recommend it to the Magistrates of Rotterdam, upon whose resolutions it would wholly depend. While I was late in these

visits on Wednesday night, Captain Harris came to my house, and told me of the yacht's being come to the Briell, but so ill used by the storms she had met with, that she would need some repair before she could go to sea again; which I was very sorry to hear, considering how ill her voyage was likely to succeed, and that I had no hopes of sending her back with her intended charge. The next morning being Thursday, I sent my letters to the President just upon his going into the committee: and within an hour after, Monsieur de Witt's brother, who is a member of it, came to me, and told me, that they had written a letter to the Magistrates of Rotterdam to the same purpose I desired, and with all the earnestness they could; and, to enforce it the more upon them, had appointed him and Monsieur Voorburgh, another member of the said committee, to go immediately thither, and to dispose the Magistrates all they could to the effectual execution of what was desired.

I acknowledged the care and compliance of the committee: and because I knew all depended upon suddenness and secrecy, and that I had been assured the day before of Joyce's being in town, I told him that I was resolved to go myself, but as privately as I could, and be there as soon as they: and while they were disposing the Magistrates of the town, I would endeavour to set the fellow, so as to be sure of him when the scout should have orders to apprehend him. After this I went straight to Rotterdam, and got privately into a house within three doors of Joyce's; and had not been there an hour, when the agent I employed to find him out had met with him in the street, and staid with him till he saw him go home to his own house. I sent immediately to my two commissioners, (who, I heard, had arrived before me in town) to give them notice of it, in hopes of their being ready for

me: but I found they were at the town-house, where the Magistrates had been assembled ever since their arrival, and they could not be spoke with by the person I sent to them till about an hour after: and then they told him, that they had been dealing all that time with the Magistrates, who made great difficulties in the business, and they could not yet give me account what they would resolve, but as soon as they could, they would come themselves and give me notice of it. After this I waited with great spight and impatience till about five hours after the Magistrates had been first assembled: the greatest part of which time I could not have failed of my prize, if they had sent their officers. But after seven o'clock at night, my two commissioners came to me, and told me they had never seen the Magistrates in greater perplexity, which had kept them so many hours unresolved what to do; that they said it was absolutely against the privileges of their town, to seize upon any man without a particular charge being ready against him: that this man, they heard, was a kind of mad extravagant fellow; that having long resided in their town, he could be guilty of nothing towards his Majesty, unless it were of words, which people were very free of in their country, and amounted not to a crime that was thought to deserve imprisonment; that they should have been glad to know the words he was accused of; and that if they should seize a man without any particular charge, the surety and protection of their town would be discredited, upon which much of their trade depended; and that they were confident, no town in Holland would do what was desired of them: that however, for his Majesty's sake, and at the instance of the two commissioners, they had at last resolved he should be seized on, and that I should have the examining of him, if I pleased: but that if I could

exhibit no particular charge against him, and he did not make himself guilty by his own confession, they must release him the next day. I replied plainly, this was just nothing to the purpose, and was only so much noise without any effect; that the King's demand was to have him sent over; and that since that could not be done without the assembly of the States of Holland, my desire was to have the man seized upon and kept till the said assembly, or at least till I received farther orders from his Majesty; and less than this was nothing at all. Hereupon one of the commissioners, seeing how much I stomached this dealing, told me, the Magistrates had not absolutely said they would release him: but the other replied, that it was true they had not absolutely said it, but that he must confess he found it was their intention. For my part, I thought it was best at a venture to be once seized on him if I could, and try whether I could get any thing out of him upon his first surprise, and leave the rest to farther endeavours; and therefore I desired, however, that he might be seized. They told me, the Magistrates doubted he was not in town: but when I had taken off that by evidence to the contrary, they said the Magistrates did not know the man, nor any of their officers; but if I could send somebody that did to the town-house, they would send their scout with him to execute what I desired. This I presently did; but the person I sent found the Magistrates still unresolved, and in very ill humour about it; and saying, besides a great deal of what the two commissioners had before told me, that in case Joyce had said he would kill the Burgomasters, or burn their town, yet they should never have thought of imprisoning him for it: and that it was hard to be put upon things so contrary to their privileges and their customs, as well as their interests. My agent, finding these difficul-

ties, desired leave for me to seize him with such persons as I could find myself: but this, they said, could by no means be done; and if it should be attempted without the officers of the town, the burghers would certainly rise and rescue him. With these kind of debates they put him off about an hour longer, making him twice withdraw, and come in again to them: but at last, when it was grown a very dark night, they gave order to their scout to go with him, and apprehend the fellow. Hereupon they went and searched his house, but without finding him, and two other of his usual haunts with the same success; but they found evident marks of his having had notice given him of his danger: for one at his house said, he wondered I would search for a madman, and that if he were assured I desired only to examine him, perhaps it might be done; but that for the present he knew not where he was, having taken the key of his back door, where he seemed to believe he was gone out. By all that had happened, I found plainly the Magistrates of the town had no intention the thing should be done; and began to be assured of what I had always doubted, that such a pack of rascals of so many sorts as had been long nested in that town (more, indeed, than in all the rest of Holland), had not made this choice without some good assurances from the Magistrates of being protected there. I found as plainly, that without their resolute and fair dealing in it, it was to no purpose for me to endeavour it; and that my being there was already known, and had given such an alarm, that some of Joyce's crew were walking continually up and down the streets thereabouts ever since it grew dark, and others of them standing at his door and his windows: and therefore, seeing that till this alarm was over there was no hopes of finding my game, I resolved to speak with

the presiding Burgomaster, and engage him as far as I could for the effectual pursuit of the business; and make him see I understood well enough how it failed, and where it depended, and so leave the town before morning to give the fellow the more security. I sent to the Burgomaster about ten o'clock at night, desiring not to have it taken notice of when I spoke with him; but he sent me his excuse by saying he was in bed: after which I sent for the scout; and when he had confessed he had orders to take the fellow, and that he knew him very well (contrary to what the Magistrates had pretended), I said all that I could possibly to engage him in the pursuit of it; and told him, as the best argument, that I would give him myself a hundred ducatoons as soon as ever it was done, besides representing the diligence so to his Majesty, as that he might expect a greater gratuity. And for the better effecting of it, I desired him to get me the keys of the town-gate that was near me, resolving then to go out of town, and to pass with torches before Joyce's door, that so he might see I was gone, and with me the persons I had employed in this business, and thereby grow secure of any farther danger for that night. And I desired him, that about an hour or two after, he would once more search for him at his house, and other places where he used. All this he promised very fairly, and all other diligences in it for the future; but to say the truth, in such a manner, that I perceived plainly the fellow had his instructions given him after another fashion, from those that had more to do with him than I: and though I have expected some news from him all this day, I yet hear nothing. Since my coming home I have spoken again with Monsieur de Witt, who professes to be very sorry for my ill success; says I did prudently in coming away after my first attempt failed; that

he knows not what to judge of the Magistrates proceeding till the return of the commissioners; and hopes something may be yet done by them, because they were not come back this afternoon. He says he writ two letters himself to the Magistrates, besides that of the committee, to dispose them more; because he knew all would depend upon their hearty or faint proceeding in it, and assures me of all his farther endeavours.

For the business of Surinam; they will not believe their last letter should not satisfy, since Monsieur Van Beuninghen had represented that Bannister's absolute permission was a thing desired by you, but not insisted upon: so that, if it be farther pressed, it must be by your orders after you received the last papers.

I ask your pardon for any ill digestion of this letter, as well as for writing it in another hand, which my eyes force me to; and may all be attributed to the want of sleep these two nights last past. I am, however, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Aug. 19, N. S. 1670.

I HAVE lately received the honour of one from your Lordship of the 26th past; by which I was very sorry to find that any occasions had at all withdrawn your Lordship's usual concurrence in all great affairs, wherein his Majesty uses the advice as well as labours of his Ministers; for the steadiness of your Lordship's judgment, and directness of your application to his Majesty's and the kingdom's honour and advantage in all your counsels, gave me at my last coming over hither much confidence in the successful course of our affairs both at home and abroad: and the more your Lordship estranges yourself from them, the more my confidence in that kind is like to

abate; because I am apt to think it not only an ill thing, but an ill sign too.

I am glad to receive your Lordship's opinion concerning the continuance of our measures abroad, because I see not at present where we can take better: and I the more need some such encouragements as your opinion gives me, because, to say the truth, I should not be very apt to concur with you in it from the observation I can make from hence of several other circumstances: however, nothing ought to discourage such public hearts as your Lordship from contributing all they can to the firmness of such counsels, as they esteem most just and safe at least, if we are not in condition to think so far as glorious:

> Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
> Detulit in melius——

We have nothing new nor material in present agitation upon this scene. The last little commission I had was as troublesome as unsuccessful; and proceeded certainly, in the manner of it, from want of knowing or considering the constitutions of this government; which makes me confident your Lordship had no part in directing it, no more than my Lord Arlington, who was out of town.

I wish your Lordship perfect health and satisfaction; and that, when neither of these make it necessary, you may not be too much at your country-house. Though in all places I shall be ever with equal constancy and truth, my Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

My Lord, Hague, Aug. 21, N. S. 1670.

As your Grace will, I hope, meet with many new entertainments on this side the water; so you must, I fear, be content with some new troubles: for both usually happen upon all changes. I wish your Grace all that can be of the first, and should not have given you any of the other, but to rejoice with you upon your happy arrival at Paris.

From so little and barren a scene as this is at present, I cannot offer at informing your Grace of any thing; especially, since men expect here to receive all their material informations from your motions where you now are, and from what shall succeed them at your return. But to leave these people in their doubtful and mystical reflections, I shall not interrupt either your Grace's business or leisure with any thing but what is plain and certain; for nothing is more so, than that I am with equal passion and truth, my Lord, your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant.

To my Lord Falconbridge.

My Lord, Hague, Aug. 22, N. S. 1670.

I WAS very glad to find by your Lordship's of the 1st current, that the suddenness of your return therein mentioned, was owing to the dispatch of your business in Italy, and to the care of your health; and consequently, that you receive from it both honour and satisfaction. I shall esteem it a great deal of both to me, if you continue so favourable intentions as you express, of taking this place in your way; where your Lordship may promise yourself whatever my services can be worth to you. I expect my Lord of Essex with my Lady here every

day; unless they have changed their design since their arrival at Hamburgh, where they came about ten days since, after my Lord's having dispatched all his affairs in the Danish Court. Our treaty with Spain for regulating the affairs of the Indies came signed to London last week, from whence, I doubt not, it will be suddenly remitted with its ratification. All here is in great quiet and silence, and like to continue so, unless France furnish us with some new discourse.

I have hitherto writ by Mr. Perwich's conveyance, but chuse to send this by Sir John Finch's, who is like to be a nearer observer of your motions. But I will not give your Lordship a long and empty interruption, which has little else to bear it out besides the profession of my being, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful humble servant.

To the Great Duke of Tuscany.

Hague, Aug. 25,
Sir, N. S. 1670.

I RECEIVED almost at the same time the honour of two letters from your most Serene Highness; one of March the 31st, with an entire vintage of the finest wines of Italy; and the other of the 5th instant, with your Highness's condolences upon the death of Madame. The great delay of the ship that brought the wine, and your Highness's great dispatch to make a compliment so sad and so obliging, were the cause that two letters of so different date arrived almost together. For I have much reason to commend the diligence of Monsieur Ferroni, in conveying to me all your Highness's favours. I find the wines admirable, and seem-

Au Grand Duc de Toscane.

De la Haye, le 25 Août,
Monsieur, S. N. 1670.

J'ay quasi reçu en même tems les deux lettres que V. A. Sme, m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire; l'une datée du 31 de Mars, & accompagnée des plus riches vendanges d'Italie, je veux dire, de ses vins les plus exquis; & l'autre du 5 du courant, avec les complimens de condolance de V. A. sur la mort de Madame. Le long retardement du navire qui a apporté les vins, & l'empressement de V. A. à me faire un compliment aussi triste qu'obligeant; ces deux choses ont fait, que deux lettres si fort éloignées par leurs dates, se sont presque rencontrées à leur arrivée. Car j'ay beaucoup à me loüer de la diligence avec laquelle Monsieur Ferroni tache de me faire tenir

ing to resemble their Prince, in having lost nothing of their natural taste or goodness, by the length of their voyage, or the extremes of heats or colds. And herein I am more obliged to your Highness than you imagine, not only for having made me taste the delights of so fine a climate in so miserable a one as this; but also for having by the same means given me the talent of a drinker, a quality I wanted very much to acquit myself of an embassy in Holland.

les faveurs de V. A. Les vins m'ont paru excellens; & si j'osois, je dirois volontiers, qu'ils semblent tenir quelque chose du Prince qui les envoyé; les changemens de climat, la longueur & les traverses du transport, la rigueur de l'hyver, ni les ardeurs de l'été, ne luy ont rien fait perdre de sa seve & de sa force; & cela, ne fournit il pas un embleme assez naturel de la personne de V. A. J'ay, au reste, plus d'obligation à V. A. qu'elle ne pense, sur son present de vins, non seulement parce qu'elle m'a fait gouter des delices du plus beau païs du monde, sous le climat le plus triste; mais sur tout, parce que son present m'a excité à devenir beuveur, qualité qui me manquoit absolument, & qui est pourtant necessaire pour se bien tirer d'une ambassade en Hollande.

I cannot tell whether your Highness by your moving expressions upon the deplorable death of Madame, has more discovered the beauty of your wit, or the greatness of your affection to the King my Master: therefore I hope your Highness will not take it ill that I have sent his Majesty a copy of your last letter, by which you have given such sensible proofs of the part you take in whatever happens to the Royal family.

Je ne say ce que V. A. fait le plus paroître dans les expressions si touchantes dont sa lettre est remplie, ou la fecondité de son esprit, ou sa tendresse de cœur pour le Roy mon Maître. C'est pourquoy j'éspere que V. A. ne me sçaura pas mauvais gré d'avoir envoyé à sa Majesté la copie de sa derniere lettre, dans laquelle elle a donné des marques si tendres de la part qu'elle prend aux evenemens de la famille Royale.

The States General are very much surprised at the news brought them this day from France, in an express sent them from their Minister at Paris, which assures them of the march of the French troops towards the frontier, to the number of

Les Etats Géneraux paroissent surpris de la nouvelle que leur a apporté un exprès depêché par leur Ministre à Paris, qui vient de leur apprendre la marche des troupes Françoises au nombre de 30,000 hommes; elles s'avancent vers les frontieres, & leur

30,000, where they are to rendezvous at Peronne: but it is not yet known whether their design be upon Flanders, or this country, or whether they project any other measures. However, the alarm is here so great, that they have immediately resolved to continue six thousand men, which they were just going to disband: they have also ordered the Council of State to compute what forces and provisions they shall judge necessary in case of a rupture with France: and have dispatched a boat from Scheveling to England with orders to Monsieur Van Beuninghen (who is upon the point of departing) to stay till farther orders from the States.

rendez-vous est marqué à Peronne. On ne decide point encore sur le dessein de cette marche, & on ignore si elle regarde ou la Flandre ou ce païs icy; & on ne sait point si l'approche de ces troupes ne tend point à cacher les veritables desseins, & à mieux réüssir dans les mesures qu'on prises. Quoy qu'il en soit, l'alarme est icy à un tel point, qu'on a pris sur le champ la resolution de continuer la solde à six mille hommes qu'on alloit congedier; que la Conseil d'Etat a ordonné de dresser promptement un état de guerre, qui comprît tant les levées d'hommes, que les munitions de bouche & de guerre, qui seroient estimées necessaires, en cas de rupture avec la France. Qu'enfin on a fait partir de Schevelin en diligence une barque pour l'Angleterre, avec ordre d'y retenir Monsieur Van Beuninghen qui étoit sur le point d'en partir.

For myself, I know not what to judge of these appearances; I shall ever complain of any events that are like to endanger the quiet of Christendom, to which I have for some time (under the orders of his Majesty) dedicated all my cares. And without doubt, if the war opens at present, great conjunctures will arise, whereof perhaps there will be reason to give your Highness joy, not for being out of the noise of them, but because great Princes only wait for great occasions. I am, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

Pour moy, je ne say ce que je dois juger sur toutes ces apparences; je gemiray toujours sur les evenemens qui pourront mettre en danger le repos de la Chrêtienté, qui depuis un tems, & sous les ordres de sa Majesté, a été l'objet de mes veilles & de mes soins. Et sans doute que si la guerre recommence, elle va donner lieu à des grands evenemens, desquels on aura peut-être à donner el para bien *à V. A. non comme éloignée de la tempête, mais parce que les grands Princes ne respirent que les grands occasions. Je supplie V. A. de m'en offrir toujours, par lesquelles je puisse luy marquer avec combien de passion & de ve-*

rité je seray toute ma vie, Monsieur, de V. A. Sme, &c.

To the Procurator of the Court of Holland, upon the rights of Ambassadors.

Au Procureur de la Cour d'Hollande, sur les droits des Ambassadeurs.

One of my secretaries having given me a copy of a paper signed by you, F. de Brusis, which was brought to my house, and given to one of my servants; by which paper you summon one N. Watt, valet or footman to the English Ambassador to appear before the Court of Holland: by the title you give the said N. Watt, you make it plain, that you believe him to be actually in my house and service. Upon which I have thought good to tell you that I look upon you as an insolent fellow, for daring to bring such a paper into my house; and that I do not intend any of my servants shall be looked upon as subject to the jurisdiction of any Court of this country, or of any other besides those of the King my Master: and if any of them offend against the laws, complaint must be made to me, that I may either order justice to be done, or deliver the offender of my own accord to be punished by the law of the place, having before-hand dismissed him from my service. Therefore I do not design to be exposed to such an insolence as this that you have committed against me, in treating me like one of your burghers, as well by the paper left in my house,

Un de mes secretaires m'ayant fait voir la copie d'un billet signé par vous F. de Brusis, qui a été porté dans ma maison, & donné à quelqu'un de mes gens, & par lequel billet vous sommez un certain N. Watt, valet ou lacquais de l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, de comparoître devant la Cour d'Hollande, par la qualité que vous donnez au dit N. Watt, vous faites bien connoître, que vous le croyez actuellement dans ma maison & attaché à mon service; là-dessus j'ay trouvé bon de vous dire que je vous tiens pour un insolent, d'avoir osé porter un tel billet dans ma maison; & que je ne pretens point, qu'aucun de mes gens soit regardé comme relevant de la jurisdiction d'aucune Cour dans ce païs icy, ni d'aucune autre que de celles du Roy mon Maître: que si quelqu'un d'eux commet quelque chose contre les loix, on n'a qu' à m'en faire des plaintes, afin que j'en fasse faire la justice, ou que je le livre de mon propre gré à la rigueur des loix du païs, l'ayant prealablement congedié, & chassé de ma maison. Je ne pretens donc pas être exposé à une insolence pareille à celle que vous venez de commettre contre moy, en me traitant comme un de vos bourgeois, tant par le billet laissé chez moy, que par le son de la cloche dont vous faites mention.

as by the ringing of the bell, whereof you make mention. What I here say, you may let your Masters know from me, by whose order you pretend to have acted. Besides, for their farther information, let them know that while I reside in this country, I will never suffer the rights and privileges so long granted to Ambassadors by the law of nations, and hitherto observed and respected by all Princes of Christendom, to be violated, or any way infringed in this country in my person, under pretence of any particular sovereignty of a province or privilege of a city in a commonwealth where I have the honour to serve a King in quality of his Ambassador.

Tout ce que je viens de vous dire, vous pourrez le dire de ma part à vos Maîtres, par l'ordre des quels vous dites avoir agi. Au surplus, & pour leur plus grand éclaircissement, qu'ils sachent, que durant mon sejour en ce païs, je ne souffriray jamais que les droits & les privileges accordez depuis si longtems jure gentium *aux Ambassadeurs, & jusqu'icy observez & respectez dans les états de tous le Princes de la Chrêtienté, soient violez, ou le moins du monde alterez en ma personne en ce païs, sous les pretextes d'aucune souveraineté particuliere d'une province, ou le privilege de quelque ville, dans une republique où j'ay l'honneur de servir un grand Roy en qualité de son Ambassadeur.*

To Monsieur ——, upon the death of his daughter.

Hague, Sept. 1,
Sir, N. S. 1670.

YESTERDAY late in the evening I received an account of your loss; and can assure you that my wife, my sister, and myself, were so sensibly afflicted at it, that if it were possible grief could be lessened by being communicated with real friends, upon these sad occasions, you would have immediately found some consolation in yours. I must confess, your grief is lawful enough, and founded not only upon the dictates of nature, but upon the merits of her you lament; so that to pretend to comfort you by other considerations than those which your prudence, and, above all, which your pi-

Au Monsieur——, sur la mort de sa fille.

De la Haye, 1 *Sept.*
Monsieur, *S. N.* 1670.

On me donna avis hier au soir bien tard, de la perte que vous venez de faire, & je puis vous assurer, que moi, ma femme, & ma sœur en avons été si sensiblement touchés, que si l'affliction pouvoit être diminuée par celle qui se communique aux véritables amis en ces tristes occasions, vous auriez sur le champ épreuvé du soulagement en la vôtre. Il le faut avouer, vôtre douleur est bien legitime, elle est fondée non seulement sur les devoirs de la nature, mais encore sur le merite de la personne que vous pleurez. Ainsi pretendre vous consoler par d'autres reflections que celles que vôtre prudence, et sur tout vôtre pieté vous suggereront, ce

ety would suggest, would be to attempt an unprofitable work. God has pleased to impose this tribute for the continuance of our lives, often to lament the death of our friends. We must learn to submit and resign to his will, which is the wisest and most Christian part we can follow. To this I shall add, that the desires of your friends who yet remain, and your care of their interests, do demand from you that you will preserve yourself to them. Among these, there is none who is more than I, Sir, your most humble and most affectionate servant.

seroit tenter une chose inutile. Il a plû à Dieu imposer une peine durant le cours de nôtre vie, qui est l'obligation de pleurer frequemment sur la mort de nos proches & de nos amis. Il faut se soumettre, & apprendre à se resigner à sa volonté; c'est là l'unique bon parti, & le seul qui soit & veritablement sage, & veritablement Chrétien. J'ajouteray à cela, que les prieres des amis qui vous restent encore, & le soin de leurs interêts, demandent que vous vous conserviez. Parmi ceux qui prennent la qualité de vos amis, il n'y a personne qui vous soit plus acquis que, Monsieur, vôtre très humble & très affectionné serviteur.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 2, N. S. 1670.

I MUST in the first place rejoice with your Lordship upon your return to town, and to the exercise of your usual cares, which are so necessary to the service of his Majesty and the kingdom, that I cannot doubt any thing is meant us so ill as the danger of your Lordship's health; though I find by your last of the 19th past, that you had fallen into some indisposition upon your return: but the length as well as the clearness of all your Lordship's discourses in it, give me the confidence that it was already past.

I have understood from Monsieur de Witt the sum of all Monsieur Van Beuninghen's discourses with his Majesty upon the same subject as those with your Lordship, of which you were pleased to give me account: and do not find that Monsieur Van Beuninghen has failed of receiving all the assurances from the King that he could wish, con-

cerning the negotiations of the Duke of Buckingham in France: for he has not only transmitted them to the States as he received them at Court, but added likewise his own opinion upon them. That as far as human appearances will go, he has all the reason that can be to believe, that nothing has been treated of by the said Duke, nor was ever intended to be so in the French Court to the prejudice of his Majesty's alliances here. For the rest, they take it as well as they can, that they see no advance made in the propositions of the Emperor's joining with those of the triple alliance in the guaranty of the peace: which I suppose touches them so much the more by the news brought this day to the States; which I am now to give your Lordship an account of, as of the way I received it.

Just as I was sitting down this day to dinner, the States Agent came to me, desiring that their Commissioners might have the liberty to speak with me, though at that unusual hour, being of a matter newly come to them, and of very great importance. I consented; and thereupon Monsieur de Witt came in the head of the other Commissioners, and told me that the States had newly received certain advice from France of the date of the 29th past, that the Chevalier de la Fourrille, who had been dispatched secretly from Court some days before the breaking up of the camp at St. Germains, and with the troops quartered near the borders of Lorrain, made a sudden march into that country, and seized upon the city of Nancy; and that by so unexpected and quick an attempt that he failed very little of surprising the person of the Duke, and had taken the Dutchess. That the Duke escaping, had retired to a small but a strong place called Bidsch; where he busied himself in assembling what forces he could for his defence. That

the Mareschal de Crequy being dispatched from Paris had met this news upon the way, and returned with it to Court; from whence he was dispatched in haste the second time to Lorrain. That the French camp near St. Germains was marched towards Peronne, under the command of Monsieur Vaubrun: but that by orders sent after them upon the way, they were to be divided into two bodies, of which one was to march away to the Mareschal Crequy in Lorrain, and the other towards Sedan; where they should make a stand, and face any attempts that might be designed from Flanders or this country towards interrupting the success of their affairs in Lorrain. Monsieur de Witt told me farther, that the States having considered these advices, had ordered them (the Commissioners) immediately to acquaint me with them; and farther, that though the States esteemed it a matter of so great importance, that all the parties of the triple alliance ought to concern themselves in it, as wholly destructive to those ends of conserving the Spanish dominions, which were mutually proposed in the said alliance; yet they (the States) should not, nor indeed could not, proceed to any resolutions thereupon, without first knowing those of his Majesty, and being assured of his vigorous conjunction. And hereupon they desired me to give his Majesty notice immediately by an express, to the end that I might know his sense and intentions upon this conjuncture; or at least be instructed to confer with the States upon it.

After this, much was enlarged by Monsieur de Witt and the Commissioners concerning the very great importance of the seizure of Lorrain; as the cutting off Burgundy wholly from the rest of the Spanish dominions, as well as all farther communication between any of the Netherlands, and many of the Princes of Germany, with the Switzers. So

as they compared Lorrain to a citadel in a town, from which all the rest would be commanded at pleasure. They added, that the Dutchy of Luxemburg would be in a manner blocked up, and maimed in their mutual assistance with the rest of the Spanish provinces; that the Electors of Mentz and Triers would have the French feet upon their throats: and consequently, that whenever France should begin with Flanders after the possession of Lorrain, the country of Burgundy would be their own in an hour, and Flanders in a very short time, without greater and readier assistances than there seemed to be any reasonable hopes for.

After this, they told me, they had received likewise a new account by this post, of all the French preparations at sea, and the present estate of their own fleet; of which they gave me this inclosed list. And by all I can gather from their discourses, I judge they are capable of any vigorous resolution that his Majesty should think fit to inspire them in conjunction with us: but that without it they are resolved, as they express it, **De laisser agir au bon Dieu, & de voir la France à leurs portes sans se remuer.* Upon all which they pretend, that the disposal and balance at this time of all affairs in these parts of Christendom, lie before his Majesty; from whom both the Empire and Spain, as well as Sweden and this State, will receive their measures.

Three days since the Baron d'Isola was with me, to communicate a letter he had newly received from the Emperor, declaring his resolution to join with the triple alliance in the guaranty of the peace of Aix, which he desired me to give his Majesty part of by the post: but having told me at the same time, that he resolved to give your Lordship

* *To leave it to God, and to see the French at their doors without stirring a foot.*

the same account, I omit to trouble you with any further particulars. He came to me again just upon the close of what I have written, and shewed me a letter from Monsieur Louvigni at Brussels, containing the particulars of what has happened in Lorrain, and little different from those I had before received by Monsieur de Witt; only that the Duke of Lorrain resolved to retire with all his forces into the mountains, and hopes to defend himself some time, provided he might be sure of not being abandoned. I am ever, my Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. ——, N. S. 1670.

I LATELY gave my Lord Arlington the account which was given me by the States Commissioners, of the seizure of Lorrain, with their reflections upon it, and the consequences it must needs have upon all the affairs of Christendom; and their desires of my communicating all from them with speed and care to his Majesty: which I did.

I have since received by last post, and by a letter from his Lordship, the King's orders for my immediate repair into England, and for my acquainting the States with it; and that it is only with intentions of my informing his Majesty better in the several points that concern the present conjunctures of my station here. This I have done in a conference upon it with M. de Witt. I found him at first very pensive upon the news of it, and apt to reflect upon this happening so soon and unexpectedly after the late seizure of Lorrain; and both after the many delays and difficulties raised by us (as he apprehends) in admitting the Emperor to the guaranty of the peace of Aix in conjunction with the triple alliance, which we formerly so

much desired. He remembered at the same time the many instances we have made for many months past about such a trifle as the carrying off our planters from Surinam (whom he takes by the articles to become their subjects), and the invincible difficulties in which we have engaged matters between our East-India Companies; in which, he says, he is assured, our merchants have no part, but as they are instigated by some persons at Court, whose ill intentions he fears towards the late alliances contracted between his Majesty and these States, both for our own mutual safety, and that of all Christendom. He reflected upon a coldness in all our negotiations of that kind, ever since Madame's journey into England; and upon the late journey of the Duke of Buckingham's to Paris, which he could not think was **pour voir le païs, ou apprendre la langue;* and desired I would tell him what I could make of all this laid together: for, on the one side, there were circumstances enough to awake a suspicious man; and, on the other side, he could never think it possible for any nation, or Court itself, to quit so certain a point of interest and great a point of honour, as must be forfeited by our breaking our alliances with this State, or entering into any with France, whose greatness had occasioned our measures for our own as well as our neighbour's defence. He said, I knew the best of any how all these matters had passed: how his Majesty had engaged these States in those common measures, and even prevailed with them to make a sacrifice of the ancient kindness and alliance this State had always before with France, to the considerations of the present danger from the greatness of that Crown to the rest of Christendom; though they might have had what terms they pleased

* *To see the country, or learn the language.*

from them for the dividing of Flanders. That I knew with how inviolate faith and firmness the States had constantly observed, for these two years past, their friendship and alliances with his Majesty, and how great a part I had in contracting and pursuing them, by the particular confidence the States and he especially had in my person, as one that was persuaded of our common interests, that knew my Master's mind, and would not be an instrument to deceive those that trusted me. For these reasons, he said, he desired to know my opinion upon this whole matter, especially that of my journey into England; which, he said, would be very surprising to every body here, and therefore he would be glad to give the news of it to the States in the best manner he could.

I protested to him that I had hitherto received constant assurances, from both the Secretaries of State, of his Majesty's resolutions to observe constantly the measures in which he was engaged to this State, and that I knew not a word more of the reasons of my sudden journey into England, than what I had told him. That I had orders to leave my family behind me: and that his Majesty might possibly think it necessary for his information to speak with me upon the present conjunctures, and to return me immediately according to my Lord Arlington's letter. That, I confessed, I was apt to make many of those reflections that he had done; but could not believe it possible for any Crown ever to enter into counsels so destructive to their honour and safety as those he suspected. That if such a thing should ever happen, I desired him to remember what I told him upon the scruples he had made in trusting our Court upon the negotiations of the triple alliance; which was, that I told him then what I thought of his Majesty's dispositions and resolutions, as well as those of his Mini-

sters: that I could not believe it possible for them to change in a point of so evident interest, and which would be so understood by the whole nation. That however I could answer for no body besides myself, but this I would; and that if ever such a thing should happen, I would never have any part in it. That I had told the King so as well as him, and would make it good. That for the present there was nothing more to be said, but that I must go away for England. That if I returned, he would know more; and I doubted by what he said, that he would guess more if I returned not.

Monsieur de Witt smiled, and said I was in the right; that, in the mean time, he would try to cure himself and others of all suspicions upon my journey: and would hope, on the other side, it might be of use to the common interests, by possessing his Majesty of the great importance of the late seizure of Lorrain; and of the States resolutions to stick close to him in all measures he should take upon it. And so we parted.

I would have gone away immediately upon this summons, but that it found me very ill, and uncertain whether it would end in a fever, as it seemed to begin; but, since a great swelling fallen upon my face, I hope it may pass. However, being forced to delay my journey some few days, I could not but give your Lordship this account beforehand, and leave it to you to make what use of it you think fit, without expecting any answer, since I hope so soon to follow it.

But I know your Lordship fully persuaded of our interest to preserve our alliances here, and the present measures of Christendom which depend upon them. And though you have said nothing yet to make me distrust our counsels in the matter; yet I confess I have not the better opinion of it from what I find of your Lordship's estranging

yourself of late, or being estranged from the consultations of them.

I have likewise reflected upon the kind hint your Lordship gave me some time since, of my Lord Arlington's not being the same to me which he had formerly been, and constantly since our first acquaintance: which made me, I confess, then doubt rather some mistake in your Lordship's observation, than any change in his friendship or dispositions. From himself, I must needs say, I yet find nothing of it; and though his style seems a little changed in what concerns our public affairs, yet not at all in what is particular to me. When I come into England I shall soon know the truth of your conjecture, and tell it you, because by that I shall judge the truth of mine: for having never said or done any thing to deserve the least change in his Lordship's friendship to me since it first began; I am sure, if it happens, it can be derived from nothing else but a change he foresees in those measures at Court which he has been with your Lordship so deeply engaged in; and which he knows as well as your Lordship that I will never have any part in the counsels of altering, till I can be convinced that any others will be more for his Majesty's honour and safety.

All this I say in confidence to your Lordship, without touching any word of it to my Lord Arlington, or any other person: and shall increase this trouble no farther, because I hope to have so soon the honour of seeing you, and assuring you a nearer way, with how much passion as well as truth I am and shall be ever, my Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

To the Great Duke of Tuscany.

London, Nov. 4,
Sir, N. S. 1670.

I SHOULD not have satisfied myself barely to resent all the favours of your most Serene Highness, and particularly the honour of your last of September the 30th, if I were any way capable of acknowledging them as I ought, either by my expressions or my services. But your Highness being pleased to oblige so many ways so unprofitable a person, can hope for no other returns than the pleasure of your own generosity, and the devotion of a heart so grateful as mine.

I should have extremely regretted the length of time your letter was in passing before it found me at London, after having missed me at the Hague; were it not that your Highness is to consider me here as one of the commonest among the King's subjects, and not as a Minister who has any part in public affairs. And therefore you can expect nothing in my letters, but the tedious compliments of an idle man, instead of such informations and services as your Highness might expect to receive from those who are devoted, like me, to your service. But the Marquis of Puzzi is too well received at the King my Master's Court, and too well informed, not to have given your Highness all intelligence necessary, as well

Au Grand Duc de Toscane.

De Lond. le 4 Nov.
Monsieur, *S. N.* 1670.

Je ne me contenterois pas de ressentir comme je le fais & comme je le dois, toutes les bontez de V. A. Sme, & particulierement l' honneur qu'elle m' a fait par sa derniere lettre du 30 de Septembre, si je me trouvois le moins du monde capable de les reconnoître comme elles le méritent, ou par mes expressions, ou par mes services. Mais V. A. ayant voulu par tant de manieres differentes obliger un sujet aussi inutile que je le suis, n'a pas dû en espérer d'autres fruits que le plaisir de jouïr de sa propre generosité, & de s'attacher un cœur aussi reconnoissant que le mien.

Je me serois fort plaint des longueurs à travers lesquelles la lettre de V. A. est enfin venue me trouver à Londres, après m'avoir manqué à la Haye; si desormais je devois être regardé de V. A. autrement que comme un homme privé, & un des sujets les plus ordinaires de sa Majesté, qui n'est plus ni Ministre public, ni admis dans les affaires. Par consequent mes lettres ne peuvent contenir, que les complimens d'un homme oisif, au lieu des relations & des instructions que V. A. attend de ceux qui sont aussi attachez à elle qu'elle sait que je le suis. Mais Monsieur le Marq. de Puzzi est trop bien à la Cour du Roy mon Maître, & d'ailleurs trop éclairé, & trop exact, pour n' avoir pû informer V. A. de tout ce qu'elle doit savoir par rapport

of his Majesty's friendship and esteem, as of the general devotion his subjects bear for the person of your Highness. He must also have informed your Highness, of the happy disposition his Majesty has found in his Parliament, for the increase of his revenues, and by that means for the establishment of his interests both within and without his kingdoms. I am sorry the said Marquis has found nothing here to please or keep him longer among us. But I hope your Highness will not think that during my stay here, there can want a person, as ready to receive and obey all your commands, as any of your own subjects, since I am so much, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

à nôtre Cour; sur tout, il n'aura pas negligé, je m'assure, de luy parler de l'amitié & de l'estime de sa Majesté pour la personne de V. A. en cela secondée par l'affection génerale de tous ses sujets. Il vous aura aussi entretenu des heureuses dispositions que sa Majesté vient de trouver dans l'assemblée de son Parlement, pour l'augmentation de ses finances, & pour la sureté de ses interêts tant au dedans qu'au dehors de ses états. Je suis bien marri que Monsieur le Marquis n'ait pas trouvé icy assez de charmes pour s'y plaire, & s'y sejourner un peu plus long tems. Mais j'ose ésperer que V. A. ne croira pas manquer dans Londres d'une personne entierement devouée à son service, & aussi empressée à recevoir ses ordres, qu'aucun de ses propres sujets, tandis que j'y feray mon sejour, puisque je suis, Monsieur, de V. A. Sme, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, London, Nov. 22, N. S. 1670.

I MUST make you my humble acknowledgments for so great a present as you have been pleased to send me towards that expence I have resolved to make at Sheen: and assure you, no part of it shall either go any other way, or lessen what I had intended of my own. I doubt not to compass what I told you of my Lord Lisle, for enlarging my small territories there; when that is done, I propose to bestow a thousand pounds upon the conveniencies of the house and garden, and hope that will reach all I care for: so that your five hundred pounds may be laid out rather for ornament than use, as

you seem to desire, by ordering me to make the front perfectly uniform. Your care of that and me, in this matter, is the more obliging, the less I find you concur with me in my thoughts of retiring wholly from public affairs, and to that purpose, of making my nest at this time as pleasant and commodious as I can afford it. Nor shall I easily resolve to offer at any of those advantages you think I might make upon such a retreat, of the King's favour or good opinion, by pretending either to pension or any other employment. The honour and pay of such posts as I have been in ought to be esteemed sufficient for the best services of them: and if I have credit left with the present Ministers to get what is owing me upon my embassy, I shall think myself enough rewarded, considering how different a value is now like to be put upon my services in Holland, from what there was when they were performed. It is very likely at that time, as you believe, there were few reasonable things the King would have denied me, while the triple alliance and our league with Holland had so great a vogue; and my friends were not wanting in their advices to me to make use of it. But I have resolved never to ask him any thing, otherways than by serving him well: and you will have the less reason perhaps to reproach me this method, if you will please to remember how the two embassies of Aix la Chapelle and Holland were not only thrown upon me without my seeking, but also what my Lord Arlington told me was designed for me upon Secretary Morris's removal, in case the King had not thought my embassy into Holland of the greatest necessity, in pursuance of those measures we had taken with that State.

For what you think of the interest we have still to pursue them, and consequently of the use the King will still have of me upon that occasion, I

will not enter into any reasonings with you upon that matter at this distance; but will only tell you some passages of fact upon which I ground the judgment I make of affairs wherein I have no part, and which I am not so solicitous to draw into the light, as I doubt others are to keep them in the dark. And when I have told you these, I shall leave you to judge whether I take my measures right as to my own private conduct.

You know first the part I had in all our alliances with Holland; how far my own personal credit was engaged upon them to Monsieur de Witt; and the resolutions I not only acquainted him and you with, but his Majesty too, that I would never have any part in breaking them, whatever should happen: though that, I confess, could hardly enter into any body's head that understood the interests of Christendom as well as our own. I have given you some intimations how cold I have observed our temper at Court in those matters for this last year; and how different it was thought abroad from that warmth with which we engaged in them: so that it was a common saying at the Hague, *qu'il faut avouer, qu'il y a eu neuf mois du plus grand Ministere du monde en Angleterre:* for they would hardly allow a longer term to the vigour of that counsel which made the triple alliance and the peace at Aix, and sent me over into Holland this last embassy to pursue the great ends of them, and draw the Emperor and Princes of the Empire into the common guaranty of the peace. Instead of this, our pretensions upon the business of Surinam and the East-India Companies have grown high, and been managed with sharpness between us and the States; and grounded (as Monsieur de Witt conceives) more upon a design of shewing them our ill humour than our reason. I was sensible that my conduct in all these matters

had fallen short, for many months past, of the approbation at Court it used to receive; and that Mr. Worden was sent over to me only to disparage it, or espy the faults of it; though I think he returned with the opinion that the business would not bear it. It is true, both my Lord Arlington and Sir John Trevor continued to the last of my stay in Holland to assure me, that the King still remained firm in his measures with the States: but yet I found the business of admitting the Emperor into the guaranty went downright lame; and that my Lord Keeper was in a manner out of the foreign counsels; for so he writ to me himself, and gave me notice at the same time that my Lord Arlington was not at all the same to me that he had been; which I took for an ill sign in our public business, and an ill circumstance in my own; and the more, because I was sure not to have deserved it; and found nothing of it in his own letters, but only that they came seldom, and ran more upon indifferent things than they used to do.

Ever since Madame's journey into England, the Dutch had grown jealous of something between us and France, and were not likely to be cured by these particulars I have mentioned: but upon the invasion and seizure of Lorrain by France, and my being sent for over so suddenly after it, Monsieur de Witt himself could keep his countenance no longer; though he be neither suspicious in his nature, nor thought it the best course to discover any such disposition upon this occasion, how much soever he had of it: but yet he told me at my coming away, that he should make a judgment of us by the suddenness of my return, which the King had ordered me to assure him of.

When I came to town, I went immediately to my Lord Arlington, according to custom. And whereas upon my several journeys over in the late

conjunctures he had ever quitted all company to receive me, and did it always with open arms, and in the kindest manner that could be, he made me this last time stay an hour and half in an outward room before he came to me, while he was in private with my Lord Ashly. He received me with a coldness that I confess surprised me; and after a quarter of an hour's talk of my journey and his friends at the Hague, instead of telling me the occasion of my being sent for over, or any thing else material, he called in *Tatá* that was in the next room, and after that my Lord Crofts, who came upon a common visit; and in that company the rest of mine passed, till I found he had nothing more to say to me, and so went away.

The next morning I went however to him again, desiring to be brought by him to kiss the King's hand, as I used upon my former journeys. He thought fit to bring me to his Majesty as he was walking in the Mall; who stopped to give me his hand, and asked me half a dozen questions about my journey, and about the Prince of Orange, and so walked on. Since which time, neither the King nor my Lord Arlington have ever said three words to me about any thing of business; though I have been as often in their way as agreed with such an ill courtier as I am, or a man without business as I found myself to be.

I have seen my Lord Keeper and Mr. Secretary Trevor: and find the first uneasy and apprehensive of our present counsels; the last sufficient and confident that no endeavours can break the measures between us and Holland, because they are esteemed so necessary abroad and so rational at home: yet I find them both but barely in the skirts of business; and only in right of their posts: and that in the secret of it, the Duke of Buckingham, my Lord Arlington, my Lord Ashly, and Sir Tho-

mas Clifford, at present compose the Ministry. This I tell you in short as the constitution of our affairs here at this time, and which I believe you may reckon upon.

You know how different Sir Thomas Clifford and I have always been, since our first acquaintance, in our schemes of government, and many other matters, especially concerning our alliance with Holland: and that has been the reason, I suppose, of very little commerce between us farther than common civility, in our frequent encounters at my Lord Arlington's for several years past: this made me a little surprised at his receiving me upon my first coming over, and treating me since, with a most wonderful graciousness, till the other day, which I suppose has ended that style. Upon the first visit he made me, after many civilities, he told me he must needs have two hours talk with me, at some time of leisure and in private, upon our affairs in Holland: and still repeated this almost every time he saw me, till one day last week, when we appointed the hour, and met in his closet. He began with great compliments to me about my services to the King in my employments abroad; went on with the necessity of preserving our measures with Holland, and the mutual interest both nations had in it; and concluded with wondering why the States should have shewed so much difficulty upon those two affairs of Surinam and the East-India Company, wherein our demands seemed so reasonable; and how it came about that I had failed in compassing his Majesty's satisfaction in those two matters, after having succeeded so much in all my other negotiations. I thought he might not have understood the detail of those two affairs, and so deduced it to him, with the Dutch reasons, which I confess seemed to me in many points but too well grounded. He seemed unsatisfied with

them all, and told me I must undertake that matter again, and bring it to a period; and asked me whether I did not think I could bring them to reason. I said plainly I believed I never could, to what we called so, and therefore was very unwilling to undertake it: that I had spent all my shot in vain; and therefore thought their best way would be to employ some person in it that had more wit or ability than I. Upon this he grew a little moved, and replied, that for my wit and ability they all knew I had enough; and all the question was, whether I was willing to employ them upon this occasion, which so much concerned the King's service and the honour of the nation. Hereupon I told him, how I had used my utmost endeavours in it already, how many representations I had made the States, how many conferences I had had with their Commissioners, how long and particular accounts I had given them hitherto, and how I had valued all the reasons transmitted me from hence, and how all to no purpose: and being, I confess, a little heated after so long and unpleasant a conversation (as well as he), I asked him in the name of God what he thought a man could do more? Upon this, in a great rage, he answered me, Yes; he would tell me what a man might do more, and what I ought to do more; which was, to let the King and all the world know how basely and unworthily the States had used him; and to declare publicly how their Ministers were a company of rogues and rascals, and not fit for his Majesty or any other Prince to have any thing to do with: and this was a part that nobody could do so well as I. My answer was very calm: that I was not a man fit to make declarations: that whenever I did, upon any occasion, I should speak of all men what I thought of them; and so I should do of the States, and the Ministers I had

dealt with there, which was all I could say of this business. And so our conversation ended.

Upon all these passages, and some others not fit for a letter, I have fixed my judgment of the affairs and counsels at present in design or deliberation here. I apprehend weather coming, that I shall have no mind to be abroad in; and therefore resolved to get a warm house over my head as soon as I could: and neither apprehend any uneasiness of mind or fortune in the private life I propose to myself; unless some public revolutions should draw both upon me, which cannot touch me alone, and must be borne like a common calamity.

I cannot find them willing yet to end my embassy in form, or give me leave to send over for my wife and family; which I easily apprehend the reason of, and must go through as well as I can; though my expence at the Hague be great, and my hopes little here of getting my pay, as I find affairs go and dispositions too in the Treasury, where all is disposed in a manner by Sir Thomas Clifford. In the mean time I have sent over for my Spanish horse, and intend to send a groom away with him to Dublin, in hopes you will be pleased with him. I can be so with nothing more than the occasions of expressing always that duty wherewith I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

Sheen, July 25, 1671.

Sir,

By yours of the 14th instant, I received the marks you were pleased to give me of your friendship and memory, which I value as I ought, and as coming from a person who has already acquired the esteem

Au Monsieur de Witt.

De Sheen, le 25 Juil. 1671.

Monsieur,

J'ay reçu dans vôtre lettre du 14, de ce mois les marques que vous avez bien voulu me donner de vôtre souvenir, & de vôtre amitié: je les estime ce qu'elles valent, & comme venant d'une personne qui s'est deja acquis

of all the world, and by that the right of doing much honour to others to whom he gives any testimony of his own. I can pretend to no other part in it, than what your goodness gives me, and am afraid that this may do injury to your judgment. But knowing that your opinion of me is solely founded upon your knowledge of my good intentions, I shall defend myself no longer; because in this age there is so little honour in being a good man, that none are suspected to employ their vanity about it, any more than their pursuits. I should quit my residence at the Hague with much regret, if I were of your opinion in what regards me; for I think I should be wholly useless there, and find I am better turned for making a good gardener than an able Minister. However, I shall ever bear much respect and esteem to those who are well qualified for the latter; and therefore cannot fail of both for your person in particular, any more than of my acknowledgments for your civilities to me at the Hague, whereof I shall ever preserve the remembrance, as well as the passion wherewith I am, Sir, your, &c.

l'estime de tout le monde, & par-là le droit de faire beaucoup d'honneur en donnant des marques de la sienne. Je n'y sçaurois pretendre d'autre part que celle que vôtre generosité m'y donne, & je crains même que cela ne fasse quelque tort à vôtre jugement. Mais sachant que la bonne opinion que vous temoignez avoir de moy, n'est fondée que sur la connoissance de mes bonnes intentions, je ne veux plus me defendre; car, au reste, dans un siécle comme le nôtre, il y a trop peu de gloire à être homme de bien, pour s'attirer le soupçon d'avoir tourné ses veues à ce côte-là, & borné sa vanité à si peu de chose. Je quitterois avec beaucoup de regret le sejour de la Haye si j'avois de moy même l'opinion que vous voulez que j'en aye; mon sentiment est que j'y serois tout-à fait inutile; & je me sens beaucoup plus propre à pratiquer l'art d'un bon jardinier, que celuy d'habile Ministre. J'auray pourtant toujours l'estime & le respect qui sont dûs à eux qui savent bien ce dernier, & par-là je croy dire assez clairement, que je n'en manqueray jamais pour vôtre personne en particulier. Je say de plus quelle reconnoissance je dois à toutes les civilitez que j'ay réceues de vous pendant mon sejour à la Haye; & mon cœur en conservera éternellement le souvenir, ainsi que la passion avec laquelle je suis, Monsieur, vôtre, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, London, Sept. 14, 1671.

I AM sure you will be pleased with knowing that my wife and family are safe arrived from Holland, after a passage that might very well have met with other dangers besides those of wind and weather. I could not obtain leave to send for them till July, though I had for some months solicited both that and the ending of my embassy: but then his Majesty was pleased to grant me both that liberty, and also of writing to the States and to Monsieur de Witt, to take my leave of them, and end my embassy as upon my own desire, and my own private occasions; which were indeed enough to engage me in that pursuit, considering the charge of maintaining an Ambassador's family at the Hague while my payments from the Exchequer went so heavy and so lame.

It is true, I had other reasons long about me, which I kept to myself: for soon after my coming over, my wife writ me word, that Monsieur Gioe, the Danish Envoy there, had told her in confidence, and out of kindness to me, that Monsieur Pompone, the French Ambassador at the Hague, had acquainted him, that new measures were taken between our Court and that of France; among which one was, that I should be recalled and return no more.

At the same time Monsieur de Witt had, upon the delays of my return, told my secretary Mr. Blaithwait, that he should take my stay or coming back for certain signs of what the King's intentions were towards the preserving or changing the measures he had taken with the States; and had desired him to let the Court know what he said. This, I suppose, made them unwilling to make a

declaration, by my recalling, of what they intended upon this occasion, before all things necessary were more fully agreed, or better concerted. Therefore they continued not only my family there for so many months, and the talk of my return, but entertained the Dutch Ministers here with such language as gained in them an opinion of our measures still continued firm upon the same bottom; and with such a credulity as was enough to make one doubt whether they were willing to deceive their Masters, or to be deceived themselves.

In July the Dutch fleet was floating in the Channel; to shew, I suppose, that they were in condition to meet any of those dangers they began to suspect from the motions of France, and from our late conduct. When the Captain of the yacht that was ordered to convey my wife over, took his leave at Court, he had public orders given him, if he came in sight of the Dutch fleet, he should sail through them, and shoot at those ships which were next him, till he made them strike sail, or till they shot at him again, and then pursue his course. He passed, it seems, into Holland without seeing them; but as he returned he met the fleet, and sailing through them, made several shot at those near him: upon which they seemed at least not to know what he meant, and to believe he might be in some distress, and the Admiral sent a boat aboard him to enquire. The Captain told them, that he had been sent to bring back the English Ambassadress, with her family, from Holland; and had orders to make the Dutch fleet strike wherever he met them in the Channel. Upon this message by the boat, Vice-Admiral Van Ghent came aboard the yacht, upon a compliment to my wife, which he performed very handsomely, and afterwards desired to speak with the Captain, of whom he enquired the reason of his shooting; and receiving the same answer

which had been given to the first boat, he said it was a point they had received no order in from their Masters, and did not know how that affair was agreed between his Majesty and the States. But though it were settled, yet the Captain could not pretend the fleet and Admiral should strike to a yacht, which was but a pleasure-boat, or at least served only for passage, and could not pass for one of the King's men of war. The Captain said he had his orders, and was bound to follow them. After Van Ghent was gone, the Captain, perplexed enough, came to my wife, and desired to know what she pleased he should do in the case; which she saw he did not like very well, and would be glad to get out of by her help. She told him, he knew his orders best, and what he was to do upon them; which she left to him to follow as he thought fit, without any regard to her or her children. He pursued his course, and landed her safe; after which she went to Court, and was very well received, and much commended for her part in what had passed: and at night Sir Lionel Jenkins was sent to take her examination in form upon the whole matter of fact. When I went next to the King's levee, he began to speak of my wife's carriage at sea, and to commend it as much as he blamed the Captain's; and said, she had shewed more courage than he: and then falling upon the Dutch insolence, I said, that however matters went, it must be confessed that there was some merit in my family, since I had made the alliance with Holland, and my wife was like to have the honour of making the war. The King smiled as well as I, who had found this the only way to turn the discourse into good humour: and so it ended.

When I went into the King's closet, I desired to kiss his hand upon the end of my embassy; which he gave me very graciously, and told me,

he had all the reason that could be to be satisfied with my services. And upon my desire that he would give me some help in the dispatch of my payments due from the Exchequer, since I was resolved to ask him nothing else, and had been at so great expence to maintain my family at the Hague so long without their help; he told me, he would speak to the Commissioners of the Treasury to do me justice; and in the mean time would give me the plate belonging to my embassy, which I had still in my possession. I gave his Majesty my humble thanks; and he seemed very much pleased to see I took it kindly, and was so easily contented.

And thus an adventure has ended in smoke, which had for almost three years made so much noise in the world, restored and preserved so long the general peace, and left his Majesty the arbitrage of all affairs among our neighbours, by the Emperor and Spain's resolutions, as well as Sweden and Holland's, to follow his measures, for the common safety and peace of Christendom.

The Dutch Ministers at Court, as ill noses as they have, began to smell the powder after the Captain's shooting, and knew not what countenance to set upon it here, and will, I doubt, be more to seek at their return. All people are full of the politics and expectations of what will be next, which you must expect to hear from Gazettes, and no more from me; who shall not so much as enquire, nor care to know; but retire to my corner at Sheen, and endeavour to pass the rest of my life as quietly and innocently as I can; and for the rest, like a private man, run the fortune of my country.

I have been long enough in Courts and public business, to know a great deal of the world and of myself; and to find that we are not made for one another, and that neither of us are like to alter either our natures or our customs: and that in course

and periods of public government, as well as private life, *quisque suos patimur manes.*

I am sensible this is too long a trouble; but being like to be the last of this kind, I hope you will forgive it among many others you have been content with from, Sir, your most obedient son, and most humble servant.

To my brother Sir John Temple.

Dear Brother, Sheen, May 23, 1672.

THOUGH I have not much troubled my friends or myself with letters, since I left off all public business, yet our company here being otherwise engaged at this time, I could not defer the telling you by this post, that my brother Harry is safe arrived from France, and talks of beginning another journey towards you in a little time. I doubt he had not come over so soon, but from the apprehension of more danger at sea upon the Dutch war breaking out, which you will at length believe my presages of had some reason, as I will allow you had none to think them true at that distance; since neither the French nor the Dutch would believe we were in earnest, till we fell upon the Smyrna fleet. My brother Harry says, no body till then believed it at Paris; and when I told my Lord Arlington what he said, he confessed the very French Court would not believe it till that blow was struck: and how well soever our measures with them were taken, yet they resolved we should begin the war; which was an honour we might perhaps have spared, considering who was like to have the profit of it.

For the Dutch, though they were alarmed at Sir George Downing's being sent over upon the ending of my embassy, yet they thought it was designed only to fright them into some great payments, as he had endeavoured to do before the

first war began; so that they were still in hopes, that if our common interest and treaties should not hold us, yet they might at least buy our friendship. Therefore the States treated Sir George Downing with all respect and civility; though the common people were hardly kept in order upon their old hatred to him, which was well known here before he went. For when the King named him for that employment, one of the Council said, The rabble will tear him in pieces; upon which the King smiled, and said, Well, I will venture him. But Sir George was so wise as not to venture himself too far; which made him come away in a fright without orders or leave: and that was all the occasion of his being sent to the Tower upon his arrival, which disappointed some ends designed by his journey. I think indeed none got much by it but I; who had the good fortune to put off my house at the Hague, with a great deal of my furniture, to him at his going over. This advantage indeed was but small, in comparison of what I have lost upon this occasion by the stop of the Exchequer, which has sunk all the money I had in Alderman Backwell's hands, and, I doubt, without recovery. This counsel was carried so secret, that I do not hear of any man at Court that had warning enough to call in his money out of any of the bankers hands: 'till Sir Thomas Clifford proposed the thing at Council without other circumstance, than saying, that it was necessary the King must have money upon the war with Holland; that he knew no other way but this; and desired none would speak against it, without proposing some better and easier way. Upon this nothing more was said, and the thing passed; and being immediately public, it was too late for any man to call in his money; which made the loss and complaint very general, as well as particular to me. Yet I

pray God this may prove the worst consequence of the present war, and the counsels that have engaged us in it. I doubt you will find very ill ones in Ireland by the loss of all your foreign trade, that will soon follow.

But my public thoughts are ended, and so I leave them to those who are engaged in them. If my father and you are well, as your friends are all here, it is enough: and I am ever your most affectionate brother.

To Monsieur Wickfort.

London, Oct. 10,
Sir, N. S. 1672.

If by the course of public affairs it were permitted me to cultivate any correspondence in the country where you are, it should, without doubt, have been yours, which hath ever been equally profitable and agreeable to me: but we must comply with the times and motions of our Governments, how contrary soever they may be to our own inclinations. However, since public edicts do not forbid any commerce that is only used for withdrawing effects in either country, I am by that means allowed to acquit myself of the acknowledgments I owe you, for dispatching my affairs with Monsieur Scague, and to desire you will continue to me your good offices, if I shall need them, towards finishing the rest of my accounts with my merchants at Amsterdam.

In the mean time, I thank you for the favour of your last,

Au Monsieur Wickfort.

De Lond. le 10 *Oct.*
Monsieur, *S. N.* 1672.

Si les conjonctures & les situations des affaires publiques m'avoient permis d'entretenir quelque correspondence au païs où vous êtes, c'eût été sans doute une amitié comme la vôtre que j'eusse eu soin de cultiver; car elle m'a toujours paru également utile & agréable. Il faut s'accommoder au tems, & ceder aux mouvemens qui entrainent les Etats, quelques opposez qu'ils soient à nos desirs & à nos volontez. Mais comme les declarations des princes ne deffendent pas cette sorte de commerce, qui n'a pour but que de retirer les effets, & de souder ses comptes de part & d'autre, il m'est permis de m'acquitter de ce que je vous dois pour m'avoir tiré d'affaire avec Monsieur Scague, & de vous supplier de me continuer vos bons offices, en cas qu'ils me soient encore necessaires pour finir le reste de mes comptes avec mon marchand d'Amsterdam.

Je vous remercie en même tems de la grace que vous m'avez

which has given me a very agreeable surprise: it is a great pleasure to hear, that any memory is left of a person buried in the privacy of a country life, and the idle amusements of leisure. For, since his Majesty has thought fit to change the course of his counsels, in the pursuit whereof I was so long and so sincerely engaged, as ever believing them equally necessary to the repose of Christendom, and to the good of both our nations; I have had no share at all in public affairs; but, on the contrary, I am wholly sunk in my gardening, and the quiet of a private life; which, I thank God, agrees with me as well as the splendour of the world, and gives me a great deal more quiet and satisfaction than I should have found by pursuing my fortunes in it, if I had the inclinations as often as I have had the occasions to do so. I will not tell you, that I have succeeded so well in my small country designs, as I have sometimes done in great ones: but, if ever any favourable accident (and this age produces strange ones enough) should bring you hither, I would let you see that our buildings are not altogether without neatness; at least, I would make you confess, that the fruits of my garden have another taste than those of my *closet, and will preserve better than those of my embassies. In the mean time, I must give place to our ladies here, who will not be sa-

faite par vôtre derniere lettre, qui me fût rendue il y a quelque tems, & qui me causa une agréable surprise; je voy avec plaisir qu'on se souvient encore d'une personne ensevelie dans un sejour champêtre, & qui dans sa retraite ne paroît plus sensible qu'aux douceurs d'une vie oisive. Car depuis que sa Majesté a trouvé bon de changer la face de son conseil, auquel j'ay été si longtems & si sincerement devoué, persuadé que les vœux de ce conseil étoient également utiles & au bien de nos deux nations, & au répos de la Chrêtienté; depuis ce tems-là, dis je, je n'ay pris aucune part aux affaires publiques, & n'ay songé au contraire qu'à m'enfoncer dans le jardinage, & à gouter la douceur d'une vie privée; qui, graces à Dieu, me sied aussi bien, que le faste des emplois, & tout l'éclat du grand monde, & me fait jouir d'un repos plus parfait que m'en auroit pû procurer la plus grande élevation, si avec d'autres desirs que ceux que j'ay, j'avois menagé toutes les occasions qui m'ont été offertes pour arriver à une grande fortune. Je ne vous diray pas que j'ay aussi bien réüssi dans mes petits projets champêtres, que j'ay autrefois réüssi dans des desseins plus élevez: mais si jamais quelque conjoncture impreveue (car ce siécle en fait naitre des plus bizares) m'étoit asses favorable pour vous conduire dans nôtre Isle, je vous ferois voir que nos bâtimens ne sont pas tout à fait sans agrément; ou du moins je

* Observations on the Netherlands, which M. Wickfort afterwards translated.

tisfied without assuring you of their services, and of the remembrance they will always keep of the civilities they have received from you and your family. I am, Sir, your most humble and most affectionate servant.

vous ferois avouer, que les fruits de mon jardin ont bien un autre goût que ceux de mon cabinet, & ont la proprieté de se conserver mieux que ceux de mes ambassades. Je n'oserois employer ce qui me reste de papier; & il faut que je songe à y laisser du vuide pour nos dames, qui ne me le pardonneroient pas si elles n'y trouvoient place pour vous assûrer de leurs services, & du souvenir qu'elles conserveront toujours de toutes les bontés qu'elles ont reçeues tant de vous que de vôtre famille. Je suis, Monsieur, vôtre très humble & très affectionné serviteur,

W. TEMPLE.

The End of Sir W. Temple's Letters.

LETTERS

TO

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

From Mr. Secretary Trevor.

Sir, London, Oct. 8, 1668, N. S.

I HAVE received your congratulations as an effect of your friendship as well as your civility. I am willing to flatter myself with it, as a thing very agreeable to my ambition, and the desires I have always had to deserve it. If it were not to assume something of vanity, I would make you the offer of all the services which my present or future fortunes shall make me capable to pay you; and if I could make them as valuable as they are sincere, I durst recommend them to be worthy your acceptance. Sir, I know your worth and merit gave me many competitors to your friendship; but in this divided world I claim some affinity to your principles, which gives some singularity to my pretence.

It is hardly yet in my province to enter into business with you; but I will take the liberty to tell you, that I am very glad you think it necessary, and have made some progress in some new expedient for paying the Swedish subsidies, and confirming that union which must preserve the peace of Europe. My Lord Keeper and Lord Privy Seal do a little fear the consequence of an universal gua-

ranty upon the peace of the Pyrenees, lest, in the extent of it, it should be construed to engage the King to greater charge and undertakings than will consist with the state of his affairs. They are of opinion, that it were better to pay these subsidies in three parts, whereof Spain will readily pay his third, and you know how England can pay theirs, if Holland will accept their part: and then to proceed freely to comprehend Spain in the alliance upon such terms of advantage as are obvious in respect to England. My Lord Arlington's thoughts upon this subject are not yet known to me: he is with the King, and I have given him an account of these discourses, and in a few days I believe you will hear from him. In the mean time I take the liberty to give you this advance of our meditations here; whereof you will make what use you shall think reasonable to those ends we aim at.

Sir, I am with great esteem and sincerity your most faithful, and humble servant, J. TREVOR.

From the Earl of Northumberland.

Sir, Petworth, Nov. 16, 1668.

I SHOULD be very much to blame if I did not make a more than ordinary acknowledgment for the last letter I received from you; wherein I find more marks of true friendship than are usually met with in this age; where truth is seldom spoken, and flattery is the only civility. I do very fully agree with you, that none of the actions of my life can be of more importance to me than those at my first setting out, whereby I may give the world a good or bad impression of me; and which soever of the two is at first taken up, will hardly ever be altered. If I fail in this, I cannot but confess myself extreme faulty, having lived so many years under the examples and precepts of one who made it his whole

business to inform me of the difference between good and evil, and who was so well able to do it: so as besides the relation, I can truly say, that I have lost the best friend I had; and I hope to be believed when I say that I thought so.

I will entertain you no longer on this subject; but I have entertained myself very well with reading your letter often: and I assure you that you cannot bestow your friendship on any body that doth more esteem it, and will more gladly embrace it, than your most affectionate and faithful servant,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

From the Baron de l'Isola.

Brussels, Dec. 13, 1668.

My Lord,

If I were not well assured of your goodness, and that you know the bottom of my heart enough to be persuaded that time and absence can change nothing of the perfect friendship I have vowed for your Excellency; I might apprehend my long silence had raised in you an ill opinion of it: but I will confess to you freely, that while I saw things take a quite contrary course to what I wished, I had not the heart to entertain a correspondence wherein I could furnish nothing but words in the air, uncertain hopes, and projects without foundation. But now, when things seem to proceed by maxims more agreeable to the circumstances of the present time, I return to my ancient obligations, and begin to awake out of the profound sleep, wherein the languishing of our affairs had plunged me;

Monsieur,

Si je ne connoissois bien vôtre bonté, & que vous savez assez le fond de mon cœur pour être persuadé que le temps & l'absence ne peuvent rien alterer de la parfaite amitié que j'ay voüé à V. E. j'apprehendois que mon long silence ne luy en eut fait concevoir quelque mauvaise opinion: mais je luy avoüeray franchement que tant que j'ay veu les choses prendre un cours tout contraire à celuy que je souhaitois; je n'ay pas eu le cœur d'entretenir une correspondence dans laquelle je n'aurois pu fournir que des paroles en l'air, des ésperances incertaines, & des projets sans fondements. A present qu'elles semblent s'acheminer par des maximes plus convenables aux circonstances du tems present, je reviens à mes anciennes obligations, et commence à me reveiller comme du profond sommeil où la langueur de nos operations m'avoit plongé; & mon

and my first care is to renew to your Excellency my ancient services, and to testify my extreme joy for the hope I have of the honour very soon to embrace you, and pour into your bosom my most secret thoughts. But shall we not have also the company of your illustrious lady, my Lady Temple? My wife, who will needs bear me company, will never be comforted, if she misses the occasion of seeing so dear a friend: and I confess to you, it would be a sensible mortification if we should not find her with you. In the mean time, I humbly desire your Excellency to believe that I am absolutely yours, and that I have taken part as I ought, in the glory you have acquired in the world by your great and happy negotiations, wishing you, from the bottom of my heart, all the advantages you ought justly to expect from so generous a Master. These are the most ardent wishes of, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant.

premier soin est de renouveller à V. E. mes anciens services; & luy temoigner l'extreme joye que j'ay de l'éspoir d'avoir bientôt l'honneur de l'embrasser, & verser dans son sein mes plus secrettes pensées. Mais n'y trouverons-nous point vôtre illustre Madame Temple?. Ma femme, qui vient absolument m'accompagner, ne se consolera jamais si elle perd cette occasion de voir une si precieuse amie: et je vous avoue que ce nous seroit une sensible mortification, si nous ne la rencontrions pas auprès de vous. Cependant je prie très humblement V. E. de croire que je suis absolument à elle, & que j'ay pris toute la part que je devois, à la gloire qu'elle s'est acquise dans le monde par ses belles & heureuses negotiations; luy souhaitant du fond du cœur tous les avantages que vous devez justement attendre d'un si genereux Maître. Ce sont les vœux très ardents que fait sans cesse, Monsieur, de vôtre Excellence le très humble & très obéissant serviteur, DE L'ISOLA.

From my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, London, Jan. 19, 1668-9.

I HAVE two of yours to acknowledge of the 15th and 22d, I should have said three; for of the former date I had two, one relating to the public affair, the other to you and me; to which I will make answer at the bottom of this.

I am glad to see that at your first entrance with Monsieur le Baron d'Isola, you had worried him out of the vision he carried thither, to persuade

the State and you to a *quadruple alliance;* or, as they have christened it in Spain, an offensive and defensive league with us. The testimony the world hath justly given him of his wit, makes him think it sufficient to prevail in any subject. But your last shews him come to some reason, and that there are two hundred thousand crowns already in hand for the satisfaction of the Swede. I hope a few days will make him confess all. Before this, I assure myself you have his Majesty's instructions upon this subject; and the satisfaction of seeing, that you know our mind before we told it to you, which I observed to his Majesty and his Ministers much to your advantage.

I have also this day, in the presence of Mr. Secretary Trevor, communicated to some of the East-India Company the paper given you by the States, upon their affairs, with the amendments Monsieur de Witt had sent to Amsterdam to make it more complete. They seem at first view to believe it comes up to their desires in substance, but have desired it to see whether it be rightly worded, with a promise to return it to be sent you again by the next post, if by that time we can agree what form to give it.

As to what is said before concerns us both, I have little to say; I mean I am this evening too much off the hooks to reply so obligingly to you as you have spoken to me upon the probability of my devolving my correspondence with you to Sir John Trevor. I cannot but tell you what you know already, that you are under his district; and must therefore expect from him all the formal dispatches, but shall never be eased of my particular ones, till you give me cause, which I know you will never do, to love you or value you less. Besides, *Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo consentit astrum:* and I am resolved never to leave you till I have made

you able to make my own fortunes; for which you have credit enough already, if you had also place for it: and believe me without flattery, you have enough of the former to deserve envy, which you must learn betimes to live with.

I have not yet spoken with Mr. Williamson concerning the correspondence you furnish him; he shall himself answer for it and his omissions all this while; and for myself, believe it, there is no man living loves and values you more, nor can be with more truth, your most affectionate and most humble servant, ARLINGTON.

From the Lord-Keeper Bridgeman.

My Lord, Essex-House, Jan. 28, 1668-9.

I HAD the favour of your Excellency's of the 31st instant, N. S. with a copy of your letter to Mr. Secretary Trevor, and am your debtor for a letter of a former date. I am exceeding glad to find the business of the Swedish subsidies to be brought so near a good conclusion. Sir Mark Ognati came to me about the same time of the receipt of yours; and gave me the like assurances, as touching the concert they were now satisfied with it; but only for convenience-sake proposed the change of six hundred horse into foot, as apprehending our English horse not so well able to endure the hard forage in Flanders as the Flemish; but our foot they took to be excellent good. I find (though I would not tell him so) that we shall scarce agree here to send our foot without horse to accompany and secure them. As for the time of sending the forces, I believe (and so I told him) that we shall insist to have it undetermined as to a day; and they must rest upon the expressions, "with all the speed we can;" which is enough, where the stipulation is *bonâ fide* intended to be performed; and the other

is not enough, without it. Some two days ago we received intelligence that the King of France has submitted the differences touching the Condé and the other dependances upon his conquests, to the determination of the King of England and Crown of Sweden, so it be done within a year. I hope we shall have peace abroad by this means for a year at least; I wish it may be so at home; and this good news which you sent us, gives me more encouragement to believe it will be so, than any I have from hence.

I have somewhat a sore fit of the gout, which still is in my hand, and causes me to make use of my nephew's pen.

I am with all faithfulness, my Lord, your Excellency's most affectionate humble servant,

ORL. BRIDGEMAN, C. S.

From Mr. Secretary Trevor.

My Lord, Whitehall, March 7, 1668-9.

I HAVE now herewith sent your Excellency the ratifications for the two instruments you last sent over. Your Lordship will take notice that the guaranty was ratified once before in May last, and left in your hands: I presume that since this last ratification is to be the same guaranty and the concert together, you will keep the former in your hands still. I am glad the last fraction of 20,000 rix dollars is paid also, and now the whole matter established.

I received yours of the 11th instant, N. S. and the inclosed declaration to the Elector of Mentz, of which I have not yet had opportunity to inform his Majesty, and to receive his commands and resolutions. To the concept for Surinam he will return you one of our own more full; but such as shall not differ much from what the States seem in theirs to intend, but more explicit, and less sub-

ject to evasion. By the next I hope to send it, that this matter may not be delayed on our part.

We have little news here. The Parliament makes haste to dispatch before Easter. In the Lords House there is arisen a great process which fills men's heads, upon the petition of my Lord Roos; who having been by act of Parliament last year divorced from his wife, and his children by her declared illegitimate, and uncapable to inherit, doth now press for another act to enable him to marry another. On Thursday will be the great debate, in which both the spiritual and temporal Lords are divided much.

My Lord, I was very sorry to find your indisposition by your letter; I heartily wish you a quick recovery, and all other advantages, which no man desires for you more truly than, your Excellency's most faithful humble servant, J. Trevor.

From the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Whitehall, May 17, 1669.

Thinking as you did, that your Lady's return to you would be sooner than it has proved, I reserved the little or nothing I have to say to you, till her arrival with it might make the diversion from the affairs you are full of, more suitable.

I have not missed a day at the Committee where your dispatches are considered, since you went from hence, till yesterday, that I was kept in my chamber by an apprehension rather than fit of the gout; and that omission was well supplied by a visit I received from Mr. Secretary Trevor, who gave me a relation of your last letters, and of the unequal desires of some of our allies.

I have all the reason in the world to be very confident that if you were in a station where your ability and industry could be as useful to me as your

friendship is real, I should soon find the effects of it: and this judgment I make not only from the entire credit I gave to your professions, but from the experience I daily have of your brother the solicitor's care of all my nearest concerns; which, next to the King's continued bounty, will owe their greatest security and dispatch to his advice and assistances. My wife I hope is now in Ireland, both to think and advise farther with him.

I am, with all reality, my Lord, your Lordship's most affectionate, humble servant,

ORMOND.

From my Lord Ambassador Montague.

My Lord, Paris, May 24, 1669.

I RECEIVED the favour of your Lordship's of May the 16th. I am glad to hear that the business so long depending is like to come to so sudden a good conclusion. Both the Spaniards and the Swedes are obliged to your Lordship, for you have proved a better solicitor for them both, than either of them could have been for themselves.

This Court is mightily overjoyed with news that an express has brought in great diligence out of Poland, almost assuring the Prince of Condé's election to that Crown. If it should prove so, the Swedes have done no ill business for themselves in entering into the triple alliance.

The succours designed for Candia, they say, will certainly be embarked and put to sea the end of this month.

This is all you shall be troubled with at present from, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant, R. MONTAGUE.

From the Constable of Castile.

Bruxelles, Feb. 6, 1670.

My Lord,

I RECEIVED your Excellency's letter of the 30th past, and observed, among other points, that your Excellency there insinuates to me not to press you anymore upon the specification of time, nor any other change in the instruments, because you had not orders to do it: in answer to which I will tell your Excellency, that I esteem as I ought the zeal wherewith you have assisted to the conclusion of the guaranty, and to our advantage; assuring you, that I am very much obliged to you for it: and having further considered attentively what your Excellency has represented to me; and particularly of what importance it was to finish this affair; and to manifest farther, the respectful deference I have to whatever can be agreeable to his Britannic Majesty; I have condescended the more willingly and readily to the payment of 200,000 patacoons to the Ministers of Sweden, in the form your Excellency will have learned more at large from Don Stephen de Gamarra. And besides, our resident at London, Don Manuel de Fonseca, informs me by letters of the 24th and 30th of January, that the Lord-Keeper, my Lord Arlington, and Secretary Trevor, have all three assured him, that after his Britannic Majesty was informed particularly of our reasons, he had resolved to order

Monsieur,

J'ay reçeu la lettre de vôtre Excellence du 30 du passé, & veu entre autres points, ce qu'elle m'y insinue, de ne la vouloir faire plus presser sur la specification du tems, ni aucun autre changement dans les instrumens, puis qu'elle n'avoit pas les ordres de le faire. En reponse de quoy je diray à V. E. que j'estime comme je dois le zèle avec lequel elle a co-opere à la conclusion de la garantie, & à nôtre avantage; l'asseurant que je luy en demeure très obligé & très reconnoissant. Et ayant en outre consideré attentivement tout ce que V. E. m'a representé, & particulierement l'importance qu'il y avoit d'achever cette affaire, & pour manifester tant plus la respectueuse deference que j'ay à tout ce qui peut estre agréable à sa Majesté Britannique: je suis condescendu tant plus volontiers & promptement à la delivrance des 200,000 pattacons au Ministres de la Couronne de Suede; en la forme que V.E. l'aura appris plus à plein du Sieur Don Estevan de Gamarra. Et d'ailleurs, comme nôtre Resident à la Cour de Londres, Don Manuel de Fonseca, me mande par lettres du 24 & 30 de Janvier, que le Garde Seaux, Milord Arlington, & le Secretaire Trevor, l'ont tous trois asseuré, qu'après que sa Majesté Britannique avoit esté informée en detail des raisons qui nous assistent, elle avoit resolue de vous ordonner

you to conclude the treaty, and to specify the time in the act of assistances, as I had desired of you; and that, in conformity to this, orders should be sent you, by which there was no doubt at London, of the entire conclusion of the guaranty. After which notices, and the proofs I have of your Excellency's desire to see this affair finished to our satisfaction, I have cause to hope, that your Excellency, having already received the said orders, will be at no farther pain to specify the said term, wherein his Britannic Majesty will give us supplies in the same form that other confederate Princes have granted them, whether in the same act, or in an instrument apart, as your Excellency offers in your letter; and I desire you earnestly to do it, that we may acknowledge the entire accomplishment of this treaty to his Britannic Majesty, and to the disposition of your Excellency, from whose hand I still expect this favour, accompanied with that of your commands to serve you, as being, entirely, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and most affectionate servant.

de conclurre le traité, & de specifier le tems dans l'acte des assistances, comme je l'avois demandé, & qu'en cette conformité l'on vous envoyeroit les ordres: moyennant quoy l'on ne doutoit plus à Londres de l'entiere conclusion de la garantie. Ensuite desquelles notices, & des preuves que j'ay du désir de V. E. de voir vuider cette affaire à nôtre satisfaction; j'ay sujet d'ésperer que vôtre Excellence ayant dejà reçeu lesdits ordres, elle n'aura plus de peine de specifier ledit terme, auquel sa Majesté Britannique nous donnera le secours, en la même forme que les autres Potentates confederez l'ont accordé, soit dans le même acte, ou dans un instrument à part, comme V. E. l'offre en sa lettre; & je l'en prie très instamment de le vouloir faire, à fin que nous donnions l'accomplissement tout entier de ce traité à sa Majesté Britannique, & à la disposition de V. E. de la main de laquelle j'attens encore cette faveur, accompagnée de celle de ses commandemens en son service, comme étant entierement, Monsieur, de vôtre Excellence le très humble & très affectionné serviteur,

CONNETABLE.

From the Count de Monterey.

Monsieur, Bruxelles, 27 Juil. 1670.

LES temoignages qu'il a plû à vôtre Excellence de me donner de la joye que luy a causé le choix que la Reyne ma Maîtresse a fait de moy pour le gouvernement de ces provinces, sont si evidents, & accompagnés de avis si salutaires & dignes de la prudence de

V. E. que je ne trouve pas de termes propres pour expliquer les sentimens d'obligation & de gratitude qui m'en demeurent: j'espere que cette nouvelle charge me subministrera les occasions frequentes de luy faire voir plûtôt par les effets & mes services, que par des paroles, le désir que j'ay de cultiver non seulement la bonne correspondance & amitié avec V. E. mais aussi d'executer les bons conseils & instructions qu'elle a eu agréable de me communiquer en sa lettre du 22 de ce mois, pour tant mieux addresser en cet penible charge selon les souhaits de V. E. à quoy j' appliqueray tous mes soins et mes forces avec autant de chaleur & de passion que je suis, Monsieur, de vôtre Excellence le très humble et très dedié serviteur,

J. Compte de Monterey.

From Sir John Werden.

My Lord, Stockholm, Sept. 17, O. S. 1670.

I came to this place about eighteen days ago, and have not in all this time met with any thing worthy of your Excellency's notice; the most apparent reason whereof hath been the absence of this King and Court, who have made a kind of progress through some parts of this country, and are expected here again about a fortnight hence.

Among other things, I have brought with me, and delivered, a letter from the King my Master to this King; reciting one lately sent from Spain, wherein that Queen signifies her assent to the arbitration of England and Sweden; but at the same time insinuates her desires to have Holland admitted as a third arbitrator; and offering to renew their joint instances to Spain, to induce that Crown to consent to the arbitration, in the same form as France hath all along offered; both the King my Master and this Crown being persuaded that France hath condescended as far already as is necessary for the ami-

cable composure designed; at least, that the arbitrators named by France are as well qualified for it as any other can be.

Your Excellency will oblige me much to let me have such notices, relating either to this or any other public matter, as your Excellency shall judge proper for me to know: in return whereof, if I am unable to present your Excellency with other than relations of the Tartars incursions and success in Muscovy, of our future dismal frosts, of witches out of Lapland, &c. it is the fault of my station, and only my misfortune that I am like to be so useless a correspondent; being otherways very really, my Lord, your Excellency's most affectionate and most obedient humble servant, JOHN WERDEN.

P.S. I should be glad to know what consequences are drawn from the French seizure of Lorrain, which at this distance affords us much variety of discourse.

Also, whether the subject of Monsieur de Anjeau's embassy from France hither be yet guessed at, and what it is.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, Oct. 21, 1670.

My Lord,

I RECEIVED the honour of both your Excellency's letters of the 23d and 30th of September, upon the subject of the English ship, which the Director of the West-India Company in the Isle of Curaca has arrested. Messieurs Boreel and Beuninghen have wrote about it at the same time to the States General, who are very much disposed to give order in this matter, for all that justice can suffer to be done, in consideration of the

A la Haye, Oct. 21, 1670.

Monsieur,

J'ay reçeu les deux lettres que vôtre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 23 & 30 Sept. stile d'Angleterre, au sujet du navire Anglois, que le Directeur qui est de la part de la compagnie des Indes Occidentales dans l'Isle de Curaca a fait arrêter. Messieurs Boreel & Van Beuninghen en ont écrit en même tems à Mess. les Etats Géneraux, qui se trouvent fort disposés à ordonner sur ce sujet, tout ce que la justice pourra

King of England. But whereas the Spanish Ambassador has presented them a memorial upon the same affair; and that it is, without doubt, of importance for the common good, to have this incident terminated by an amicable concert between the parties; at least, because the rules of common justice will not allow that an affair should be decided without hearing him or them that believe themselves concerned in it: their High Mightinesses have given direction by this ordinary to their Ministers at London, to endeavour bringing the affair to an accommodation between the Ministers of Great Britain and Monsieur de Molina the Ambassador of Spain at his Majesty's Court. I send you the copy of the Ambassador Gamarra's memorial, that you may see the Spaniards do not agree to what others say in their favour: but this will not hinder the States from doing, in consideration of his Majesty, the utmost that can consist with justice; as I in my particular shall contribute all in my power to his satisfaction, and to whatever will help to preserve the good intelligence between his Majesty and this State. To this end I could have wished, that there had not appeared on either side, any libels, verses, medals, or other such displeasing things, and particularly, that the accidents of the last war might no more be thought on, whereof the memory should be for ever abolished. And I confess freely, that in this country, there is a

souffrir estre fait, en la consideration du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Mais comme Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne leur a presenté un memoire sur la même affaire, & qu'il importe sans doute pour le bien commun que l'on termine cet incident par un concert aimable entre les interessées; au moins & que l'ordre & les regles de la justice ne permettent pas qui l'on dispose dans une affaire sans avoir ouy celuy ou ceux qui s'y croyent touchés; leurs Hautes Puissances ordonnent par cet ordinaire à Messieurs leurs Ministres qui sont à Londres, de tâcher de porter l'affaire à un accommodement aimable entre les Ministres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & Monsieur de Molina Ambassadeur du Roy d'Espagne à la Cour de sa Majesté. Je vous envoye, Monsieur, la copie du memoire de l'Ambassadeur de Gamarra, afin que vous y voyiez que les Espagnols ne demeurent pas d'accord de tout ce que les autres disent en leur faveur; mais cela n'empêchera pas que Messieurs les Etats en fassent, en la consideration de sa Majesté, tout ce qui se pourra faire en toute l'étendue de la justice, comme en mon particulier je contribueray toujours ce qui sera de mon pouvoir à sa satisfaction, & à ce qui pourra servir à maintenir la bonne intelligence entre elle & cet Etat. Pour cet effet je souhaiterois que de part & d'autre il n'eût point paru des libelles, des vers, des medailles, ou autres choses semblables, qui eussent pû deplaire; & particulierement que l'on ne songeât plus aux accidens d'une

little too much licence given in certain things; though after the most diligent search we could not find that the libels complained of, were printed in this province. Besides you know, there are epidemical evils which are without remedy, and all that one can do is to give some ease to a distemper which cannot be entirely cured. You, my Lord, and those who resemble you, are above such trifles, as you properly call them, and consider only the true intentions of the State, where the King shall ever find all the respect he can desire.

guerre dont la memoire devroit estre abolie à jamais; & j'avoue volontiers qu'en ce païs l'on se donne un peu trop de licence en des certaines choses; quoyque pourtant après une recherche très exacte, l'on n'ait point sçu trouver que les libelles dont on se plaint par de là, ayent esté imprimés en cette province. Mais vous savez aussi qu'il y a des maux épidemiques qui sont sans remede, & que tout ce que l'on y peut faire, c'est d'adoucir le mal que l'on ne peut pas entierement guerir. Vous, Monsieur, & ceux qui vous ressemblent, vous estes au-dessus de ce que vous nommez bien bagatelles, & ne vous arrêtez qu'aux véritables intentions de l'Etat; où le Roy trouvera toujours tout le respect & tous les sentimens qu'il pourra souhaiter.

For the rest, I refer myself to what the said Deputies of the State will tell you upon the subject of your last letters: and for me, I shall ever think it an honour to let the King know, that after the service I owe my country, I shall employ myself for that of his Majesty, with all imaginable zeal; especially if you will please to mix yours with mine, since it is with an inclination altogether particular that I am, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and most affectionate servant.

Au reste, je me remets à ce que lesdits Ministres de l'Etat vous diront de plus sur les matieres contenues en vos susdites lettres. Et pour ce qui est de moy, je tiendray à gloire de faire connoître au Roy, qu'après le service que je dois à ma patrie, je m'employeray pour celuy de sa Majesté avec tout le zèle imaginable; sur tout, quand vous y voudrez mêler le vôtre; puisque c'est avec une inclination tout particuliere que je suis, Monsieur, de vôtre Excellence le très humble & très affectionné serviteur, JOHAN. DE WITT.

From the Baron d'Isola.

Hague, Nov. 14, 1670.

My Lord,

I AM extreme glad to hear by your Excellency's letter, of

A la Haye, 14 Nov. 1670.

Monsieur,

C'est avec beaucoup de joye j'ay appris par la lettre de vôtre

your happy return from the country to the Court, together with a good account of your health; but I confess I should have been much more pleased to have learnt it from your own mouth than your letter. Your absence from this place begins to be tiresome; and every body is much concerned at the great occasions that are lost by it, for advancing the public good.

The readiness that the Parliament of England hath shewed in giving considerable aids to his Britannic Majesty, is a mark of their zeal and prudence; and makes it manifest enough, that they know their true interest; and apprehend, as they ought, the progress and preparations of the neighbouring Princes. I doubt not but his Majesty will correspond with their good desires, by such strong and vigorous resolutions as the present time and his own interest require. France still continues to give out, that England is wholly in their interests, and that all these preparations are in their favour. At the same time the French publish this, they endeavour to persuade us that the Emperor has no good intentions, and that they are in a strict league with him. But since their game is to rule by making division, ours ought to be that of supporting ourselves by uniting. I believe, the intentions of your Court are very sincere, and I can assure you that ours are so too: it only remains that we should rightly

Excellence son heureux retour de la campagne à la Cour, & la parfaite santé dont elle jouit. Mais je vous confesse que j'aurois beaucoup mieux aimé les apprendre par sa propre bouche que par ses lettres: son absence commence à devenir enuyeuse, & tout le monde est disconcerté beaucoup de bonnes choses qui se pourroient faire pour le bien public.

La promptitude que le Parlement d'Angleterre a temoigné pour donner des assistances considerables à sa Majesté Britannique, est une marque de son zèle & de sa prudence, & fait assès connoitre qu'il connoit ses veritables interêts, & qu'il apprehende comme il doit les progrez & les preparatifs des puissances voisines. Je ne doute pas que sa Majesté ne corresponde à leurs bons desirs, par des fortes et vigoureuses resolutions, telles que le tems present & ses propres interêts requierent. La France continue toujours à publier que l'Angleterre est d'accord avec elle, & que tous ces preparatifs se font en sa faveur. Elle publie tout cela en même tems qu'elle tache de vous persuader que l'Empereur n'a point de bonnes intentions; & qu'elle est en des étroites liaisons avec luy. Mais comme son jeu est de regner en divisant, le nôtre doit estre aussi de nous soutenir en nous unissant. Je croy les intentions de vôtre Cour fort sinceres, & je vous puis asseurer que les nôtres le sont aussi. Il ne reste qu'a nous bien entendre, & à mépriser de

understand one another, and despise all the suggestions of those who can only find their account in our disunion. I assure you, that your long stay where you are, is very hurtful to affairs in general, as well as to the particular service of the King your Master. I dare not mention to you all the bad effects it causes: and after all, the French make bad use of it towards your Court, to publish so confidently as they do, that they are in private intelligence there, since it is a thing evidently false; and if it were true, it is a very unfaithful part in them to divulge it. But they serve Princes just as they do women, whose favours they publish, whether they have received any or no. I protest to you, I think all sort of commerce with them is dangerous.

Pray believe me to be more than any one in the world, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant.

part & d'autre toutes les suggestions de ceux qui ne peuvent trouver leur compte que dans nôtre desunion. Je vous asseure en verité que vôtre trop long sejours au lieu où vous estes, est fort nuisible aux affaires publiques, & au service particulier de vôtre Roy. Je n'ose pas vous écrire tous les mauvais effets que cela cause; & après tout, les François en usent très mal envers vôtre Cour, de publier, comme ils font très effrontement, qu'ils sont en secrette intelligence avec elle; puisque cela est évidement faux, & quand il seroit veritable, ce ne seroit pas agir fidellement de la divulguer: mais ils en usent avec les Princes commes ils font avec les femmes, de qui ils publient les faveurs reçeues & non reçeues. Je vous avoue que toute sorte de commerce avec eux est dangereux.

Croyez je vous prie que je suis plus que personne du monde, Monsieur, de vôtre Excellence très humble & très obeissant serviteur, F. D'ISOLA.

From Mr. Blaithwayt.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 10, N. S. 1671.

I RECEIVED yesterday morning your Excellency's letter of Feb. 19th, and at the same instant went to Monsieur de Witt, and imparted to him your Lordship's commands: to which he answered, That he knew of no other paper that Monsieur Van Beuninghen had brought over with him, than one sheet wherein the case was stated in Latin by the interested persons. Besides he had hoped some agreement might have been made in England with the Spanish Ministers: but since it is

not so, he promised * *d'y tenir la main*, as soon as Monsieur Van Beuninghen comes from Amsterdam. After which he asked me when we expected your Excellency? My answer was, That I could not yet assure him of any certain time, but that I thought it would be very shortly. He replied, † *Qu'on en doutoit bien icy: qu'il savoit que le Parlement estoit fort zelé pour les interêts communs, mais que la Cour n'y estoit pas trop disposée: que neantmoins ils avoient fait un dernier effort par une lettre à sa Majesté, où ils offroient de faire une alliance aussi étroite qu'on voudroit. Que pour l'absence ou venue de vôtre Excellence, il les prendroit pour une preuve infallible de la bonne ou mauvaise volonté de l'Angleterre.* And as I was taking my leave, he repeated the last sentence; and added, ‡ *Faites luy mes baisemains, & dites luy cela de ma part;* which I promised to do.

The truth is, my Lord, this country has of late generally conceived so ill an opinion of England's intentions, that they do quite despair of any succour from thence: which makes them the readier to put themselves in posture; so that the consent of Zealand being come, the Committee-council of Holland are swearing the new officers, and giving out commissions, intending the latter end of this week to deliver the money.

The States of Holland are expected here to-day, and will be compleat this week, notwithstanding a general fast and thanksgiving, which will be kept

* *To give a hand to it.*

† *That it was doubted here very much: that he knew the Parliament was very zealous for the common interests, but that the Court was not over much disposed to them: that, however, they had made one last effort in a letter to his Majesty, wherein they offered to make as strict an alliance as could be desired. That for the absence or return of your Excellency, they took them for an infallible proof of the good or bad will of England.*

‡ *Make him my compliments, and tell him this from me.*

to-morrow through the Seven Provinces, as is usually done every year.

Your Excellency does without doubt know, that Captain O'Bryan and Sir Thomas Sands are here; as well as that my Lord Ossory intends in few days to pass through Flanders, to Nieuport, or Dunkirk, whither the yachts are gone to meet him. I am, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

W. BLAITHWAYT.

From Mr. Blaithwayt.

My Lord, Hague, May 5, N. S. 1671.

UPON the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 14th April, I went to Monsieur de Witt to solicit an expedition in the business of the English ship. He promised me *d'y tenir la main*, and to further it as much as possible; but withal told me, that it was true, *que nous avions raison au fond, mais que nous prenions l'affaire sur un mauvais pied.* That we have no reason in the world to lay the blame upon the Dutch, and to demand satisfaction for the injury the Spaniards have done us. That we could not at all prove any breach of articles in what had passed. That in case (to use his example) a man borrowed my sword, and with it commits murder or robbery, I am not in the least responsible for his misdemeanors, no more than the Dutch for what the Spaniards have done: and if this be true, we have not exhibited any one argument that can hold good. But the argument Monsieur de Witt says we ought wholly to insist upon, is, that Feroni at the letting out his ship made a contract with the Genoueses (which I have long since transmitted your Lordship) wherein it is positively said that they should not therein offend or molest the English nation. So that now

the Genoueses having so evidently broken this contract, and withal bringing their prize into the dominions of the States; the same States may with a great deal of reason oblige them to make good the contract they have made with one of their subjects. And, just as, in case the man that has committed robbery with the sword I had lent him, brings into my hands what he has stolen, I am in justice to render every thing to the owner. By the same reason the States are obliged to make restitution of the ship and lading to the owners, as taken contrary to promise, and by the means of a ship belonging to one of their subjects. For the state of the business your Excellency sent me, I easily guessed by Monsieur de Witt's discourse, that he had already seen it; and having been afterwards with Monsieur Schimmelpening the chief commissioner, as Monsieur de Witt had advised me, to recommend to him the business, and to insinuate this argument; I found he had the same paper already in his hands in Latin.

As for the other point, whether Monsieur Beverning has offered a defensive or offensive league with Spain; your Lordship will please to remember, that in the intelligence of the 2d of April, it is said, * *que cet Etat avoit toujours rejetté une alliance defensive que l'Espagne avoit offert, & qu'on avoit opiné qu'on la falloit encore rejetter.* But the same paper says, that at the same time it was resolved, that order should be given to Monsieur Beverning to propose a treaty for one year only. The States cannot yet have an answer whether this treaty has been accepted of or no. However, as soon as I can learn any thing farther in this point, I will not fail to inform your Lordship of it.

* *That this State has always rejected a defensive alliance offered by Spain, and that it was thought they must still reject it.*

Monsieur Pompone went last Saturday for Dunkirk, where the French King is by this time. I am, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant, W. BLAITHWAYT.

From my Lord Arlington.

Sir, Goring-house, June 28, 1671.

I HUMBLY thank you for your cherries, which were so good, that I grieve for the loss of those that could not find me at Windsor.

Having his Majesty's approbation of your writing to the States to take your leave of them; and he refusing to see your letter; it was not at all necessary you should shew it me: yet to comply with your desire, I have read and approved it. You are best judge, having lived among them, whether the form be good; to the matter I am sure nothing can be objected; nor to my profession of being ever your most faithful and humble servant, ARLINGTON.

A

SURVEY

OF THE

CONSTITUTIONS AND INTERESTS

OF

THE EMPIRE,	HOLLAND,
SWEDEN,	FRANCE,
DENMARK,	AND
SPAIN,	FLANDERS,

WITH THEIR RELATION TO ENGLAND IN THE YEAR 1671.

And then given to one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, upon the ending of my Embassy at the Hague.

THE decay and dissolution of civil, as well as natural bodies, proceeding usually from outward blows and accidents, as well as inward distempers or infirmities, it seems equally necessary for any government to know and reflect upon the constitutions, forces, and conjunctures among their neighbouring states, as well as the factions, humours, and interest of their own subjects; for all power is but comparative; nor can any kingdom take a just measure of its safety by its own riches or strength at home, without casting up at the same time, what invasions may be feared, and what defences expected, from enemies or allies abroad.

It is certain, that so advantageous a situation as that of his Majesty's dominions in these islands of Great Britain and Ireland, makes any foreign consideration less important to us, than to any

other nation; because the numbers and native courage of our men, with the strength of our shipping, have so many ages past (and still for ought we yet know) made us a match for the greatest of our neighbours at land, and an over-match for the strongest of them at sea; whereas whoever hurts us, without our own arms, must be able to master us in both these elements: Yet in regard there are the names of several conquests remaining still upon record (though all of them the mere effects of our own divisions and invitations) when trade is grown the design of all nations in Europe, that are possessed of any maritime provinces, as being the only unexhausted mine, and out of whose treasures all greatness at sea naturally arises; when, instead of a King of France surrounded and bearded by Dukes of Britany and Burgundy, as well as our own possessions in Normandy and Guienne; instead of a Count of Flanders and Holland, who served for no more, than like the smaller weights to make the balance sometimes a little even in the greater scales of the English, French, and German powers; we now behold in France the greatest land forces that perhaps have ever been known under the command of any Christian Prince; and in the United Provinces, the greatest numbers both of ships and mariners that were ever yet heard of under any State in the world; and which have hitherto been only awed by the strength of our oak, the art of our ship-wrights, and chiefly by the invincible hearts of our seamen: when the prospect of these two powers brings us to consider, that any firm conjunction of them, either by confederacy, or the submission of Holland, will prove the nearest approach that was ever made to our ruin and servitude: It may perhaps import us, in this calm we enjoy, to hearken a little more, than we have done of late, to the storms that are now

rising abroad; and by the best perspectives we can find, to discover from what coast they break, what course they are like to hold, how much we can lie in their danger, and whether the shelter, expected from us by our neighbours, will be only a strain of generosity and humanity, or the best provision we can make hereafter for our own safety.

Those countries, in whose actions or interests we have at any time concerned ourselves, have been the Empire, France, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and the Low-Countries, in the two several bodies usually distinguished by the names of Flanders and Holland. For with Poland we have never gone further than our good wishes towards their defence against the Turks: nor with Italy, than our offices of ceremony, or interest of traffic; unless sometimes some short negotiation that served the present turn, to stop the aspiring growth of either the French or Spanish greatness in those as well as nearer parts.

The foreign interests of the Empire are the defence of the eastern parts against the Turk, and the preservation of the western circles against the growth of France. The domestic are the limited constitution of the Imperial power, and the balance of the several free Princes and States of the Empire among themselves. The two last have raised no dust since the peace of Munster, which seems chiefly occasioned by the Swede's coming in to be a member of the Empire, upon the share then yielded to him in Pomerania and Bremen. These give him an immediate entrance into the heart of Germany, where the native poverty of his own country makes him considered as still upon the wing, and ready to stoop at the first quarry he can meet with, upon any divisions in the Empire; so as there seems a general resolution not to furnish

him with such occasions. Their defence against the Turk will be provided and pursued by common inclinations and forces, unless those Princes of the western circles should at the same time be busied in some nearer danger from France. But if the Grand Visier be so great a man as he is reputed in politics as well as arms, he will never consent, by an invasion of Hungary, to make way for the advance of the French progress into the Empire, which a conquest of the Low-Countries would make easy and obvious: and so great accessions (with others that would lie fair and open in the Spanish provinces upon the Mediterranean) would make France a formidable power to the Turk himself, and greater than I suppose he desires to see any in Christendom. So that it seems not improbable, that the present peace between the Emperor and the Turk may last longer than is generally calculated by the fears or desires of those who are most concerned in it.

In the preservation of the western circles (especially that of Burgundy and the Rhine) against the progress of the French greatness, the dispositions, if not interests of the several members of the Empire, seem much more divided. The Emperor himself is firm in resolving it, because he has nothing to fear so much as the power and ambition of France, in regard of their common pretensions to Spain, after the young King's death, and a jealousy of the Empire itself, after a further course of success: but he will be faint in any execution of such a counsel, unless spirited by the unanimous decrees of a general diet; from his own dispositions, which are thought rather generous and just, than ambitious and enterprising; from the influence of the Jesuits in that Court, who are observed to grow generally French, as they were Spanish in the last age; from the fear of the Turks,

who are still like a cloud that hangs over his head; and from a jealousy of Sweden's joining absolutely with France, which might share a great part of the Empire between them.

The Elector of Saxony would fall entirely into the interests of the Emperor in this point, as a Prince that is a true German, loves the liberty of the Empire, foresees that if it should fall into the French hands all the Princes would grow little companions to what they are, or return to be the several officers of his Court, as they were in the unlimited greatness of some ancient Emperors. Besides, his distance from France, though it does not instruct him to think wiser than other Princes, yet it helps him to speak boldlier what he thinks upon these conjunctures.

The Elector of Brandenburgh and Landgrave of Hesse, and, at least, two of the Dukes of Lunenburgh, are, in their dispositions and judgments, upon the same interests; but will be influenced and awed by Sweden, whose ill talent will be still suspected to Brandenburgh, upon the differences in Prussia, and to Lunenburgh, upon the late disappointment at Bremen.

The Electors of Mentz and Triers have the same inclinations; but, lying at the mercy of France, in so near and so imperious a neighbourhood, they will take no measures wherein they may not see their own safety provided for, as well as that of the Empire; wherein no Prince has greater reputation of prudence and caution than the Bishop of Mentz.

The Elector Palatine, either upon remainders of the ancient leagues with France, or quarrels with the House of Austria, has been thought inclined to the French; but as a wise Prince will be found generally in the true interests of the Empire, as far as the seat of his country will give him leave, which, in a war, will be so much exposed.

The Elector of Bavaria has been esteemed wholly in the French interests since the treaty of Munster; but, by what ties or motives, has not fallen under my observation, in regard of the distance of his country, and small commerce out of the limits of the Empire.

The Elector of Cologne is a person of much natural goodness and candor, but of age and infirmities, and whom devotion and chemistry have shared between them, and, in a manner, removed from the affairs of his State; which have been long and entirely devolved upon the Bishop of Strasburgh, a man busy, and always in motion or intrigue: but for the rest, whether upon future ambition, or present advantages, esteemed to be perfectly in the French interests; so as whatever use can be made by France of that Elector's name or country, may be reckoned upon as wholly at the devotion of that Crown.

The Duke of Nieuburgh is, in his person and mien, rather like an Italian than a German; and should be so in his disposition, by playing the game of an Italian Prince; in declaring no partialities, provoking no enemies, and living more retired than the other Princes of his country: having never shewed any ambition but for the Crown of Poland, which design helped to inspire him with great compliance towards all his neighbours, and other Princes, who were able to do him good or ill offices in that point. But the failing of it was thought to have something disobliged him from France (upon whose assistance he reckoned), and has sunk him in a debt which he will hardly recover.

The Bishop of Munster is made only considerable by his situation, which lies the fittest of all others to invade Holland; and by the dispositions of this man, which are unquiet, and ambitious to raise a name in the world: an old implacable hatred to the

Dutch, upon their intelligence with his chief town of Munster; their usurpation (as he pretends) of Borkloe, and some other small places in his country; their protection of the Countess of Benthem; and the hopes of sharing Overyssel or Friesland, if ever their spoils come to be divided, make him a certain friend to what Prince soever is enemy to them, and will furnish him with men or money enough to appear in the head of an army against them.

The general interest that the several Princes of the Empire have with us, is grounded wholly upon the esteem of his Majesty's power, and the veneration of his name; which is so great amongst them, that most of them are resolved, in the present conjuncture of affairs in Christendom, to understand perfectly his language, before they speak their own.

The government of Sweden is esteemed steady and wise, as their people warlike and numerous. The digestion of their counsels is made in a Senate, consisting of forty counsellors, who are generally the greatest men of the kingdom, in office, estates, or abilities; and who have, most of them, been commanders in the German wars, or are so in the present militia; which makes their counsels generally warlike and ambitious, though something tempered by the minority of their King. This has turned them, for some years since their last King's death, rather to make advantages by the name and reputation of their alliances, than by the appearance of their arms. But if their King grows a man, and of martial thoughts, as may be presaged from so great a father, we may see great actions and revolutions grow again out of this northern climate. For the names of Goth and Vandal, and their famous successes both in Poland and Germany this last age, inspire them with great thoughts; and the

bodies and courages of their common men, as well as the prudence and conduct of their great officers, seem to have framed them for great undertakings. Besides, their application of late years to trade has much increased their shipping and seamen (which they found to be their weak side in their last attempts). All these may, in time, make way for their great design, which is, the dominion of the Baltic sea by the conquest of Denmark. This was, about the year 59, wrested out of their hands by the Dutch assistances, and can hardly escape them, if ever that Commonwealth should be broken. And if they arrive once at this point, there will grow a power in that rough climate, which, both at land and sea, may equal most others that are now in Christendom; by being masters of such numbers of strong and valiant men, as well as of all the naval stores that furnish the world.

They have a nearer prospect upon the city of Bremen, by the addition whereof to the bishopric already in their possession, they design to lay a great foundation, both of trade and strength, in the nearer parts of Germany.

Their next interest seems to be a long knocking war in the Empire, or the Low-Countries; which will make them courted by all till they think fit to declare, and then will bring them to a share in the game: and those often go away with the greatest, who bring in the least when the stake begins. The neglects of France, since the peace of Munster, and the late courtship of Spain, seem to have left them open for the fairest offer from either of those Crowns; but rather inclined to Spain, which has still the surest funds of treasure (if they could fall into good method or direction), and to whom they are more necessary than to France, which has out-grown almost all measures with their neighbours. They have a pique to Holland, something in show, but

more at heart, at lying cross to their three designs; the dominion of the Baltic, their acquisition of Bremen, and a war in the Upper or Lower Germany. And they are so wise a State as to be found commonly in their interest; which, for these reasons, is either an absolute breaking, or a great weakening, of that commonwealth. Besides, they esteemed themselves at least neglected by them in the late negotiation of the triple alliance, wherein they expected constant subsidies in the time of peace, from Spain and Holland, to engage them in the defence of all those provinces against the threatening power of France.

An old friendship to our nation, and alliance, proceeding from a long conjunction of interests, besides the necessity of keeping well with one of the greatest maritime powers, will (as may be conjectured) persuade them to follow his Majesty's measures the closest and furthest of any state in Europe. This gave them the first design of entering into the triple alliance, and into the commerce with Spain in the year 68, and their resolution of keeping pace with his Majesty in both these points, as well as the consequences of them, which they will do, unless the present scene should wholly change, and open new counsels and interests not yet thought of in the world.

The kingdom of Denmark seems less considerable than their neighbour Crown, from a fainter spirit which appears of late in their people, and in their government itself, as well as a great inequality of number in their forces, both at sea and land: for the last change of their government, from elective to hereditary, has made it seem hitherto of less force and unfitter for action abroad. As all great changes, brought about by force or address, in an old constitution of government, rooted in the

hearts and customs of the people, though they may in time prove an increase of strength and greatness (when fallen into method, and grown easy by use), yet, for many years, they must needs weaken it, by the divisions and distractions of mens minds, and discontents of their humours, and so turn the counsels upon designs within, desisting from any without; and advantages upon enemies must give way to those upon subjects. So as the breaking down an old frame of government, and erecting a new, seems like the cutting down an old oak (because the fruit decays and the branches grow thin) and planting a young one in the room. It is true the son or grandson (if it prospers) may enjoy the shade and the maste; but the planter, besides the pleasure of imagination, has no other benefit to recompense the pains of setting and digging, the care of watering and pruning, the fears of every storm and every drought; and it is well if he escapes a blow from the fall of the old tree, or its boughs, as they are lopped off.

The change in Denmark was the safer, by having to deal with a soft easy people, and with nobles grown to have small power or interest amongst them, and of whom many were gained by the Crown. Besides, that nothing seemed to concern property in the change of successive for elective. And the example of all Christian Crowns (besides that of Poland) made way for it: and yet it is certain, that Denmark has continued ever since weak and unspirited, bent only upon safety, and enjoying the revenues of the Sound (which are the chief belonging to that Crown). So as their great interest is their defence against Sweden; and for the rest, a general peace, by which traffic increasing they may come in for a share, and see their customs grow in the Sound and Norway. They

reckoned chiefly upon their support from Holland, *till* seeing them fall into closer measures with us and Sweden upon the triple alliance, they have tacked some points nearer France; and the rather, because of the unkindness grown in the last Dutch war between us and them: yet they have it at heart that Holland has ever used them insolently, if not scornfully, in the whole course of their treaties and alliances, as well as the differences between them about the payments of the Sound; and will be ever ready and resolute in the defence of Hamborough, whenever the Danes shall have strength and heart enough to attack it, which seems the chief ambition they have left them abroad.

The Crown of Spain was, in all Philip the Second's time, looked upon as both the terror and defence of Christendom; no monarchy having ever grasped at so great an empire there, and at the same time pursued an open war against so great a power as the Turks. This greatness was grown up by the union of the house of Castile and Arragon, of that of Burgundy and the Netherlands, with that of Naples and Sicily; by the accession or conquest of Portugal; by that of the Indies, when their mines bled fresh, as they did many years after their first opening; by the number of brave troops and leaders which were raised and made by the various and continual wars of Charles V. but chiefly by the uninterrupted succession of three great Princes, Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip; which can never fail of raising a small kingdom to a great, no more than the contrary, of bringing down a great one to a small. But whoever measures the Crown of Spain now by the scale of that age, may fancy a man of fourscore by a picture drawn of him at thirty: it is like a great old tree which has lost its

branches and leaves, *et trunco non frondibus efficit umbram.* Though no man knows whether, out of this old root, a sucker may not spring, that, with a little shelter at first, and good seasons, may in time prove a mighty tree; for there seems still to remain strength and sap in the root to furnish a fair growth, though not in proportion to the first. These decays have been occasioned by so long a war with Holland (supported by all the neighbours who envied or feared the greatness of Spain); by the exhausting, in a great degree, of their Indian mines; by that of their natives, to furnish the Indian conquests, and secure all their provinces both in Italy and Flanders; but most of all by two successions (which we may at least call) of unactive Princes, and the want of any great Ministry to repair either them or the minority of this King in which they ended. Unless this Crown outgrow its present weakness by some great spirit rising up at the head of the monarchy, who shall digest their counsels, reform the vast and impertinent profusions of their treasures, by suppressing all unnecessary pensions and expences, and restore the vigour of their nation by martial designs and examples, we may reckon the interest of Spain to lie wholly in the preservation and defence of Flanders from France, of Sicily from the Turks, and of their Indies from us. That of Sicily seems more remote, because both Hungary and Poland is a nearer game for the Turk, and will not so generally alarm or unite the Christian Princes as the invasion of Sicily, wherein France, as well as Italy, is so near concerned. The jealousy of their Indies has been much nearer them since our possession of Jamaica; and akes at heart upon every fit which the desperate sallies of our privateers there bring upon them. But they hope to make fair weather in those seas, by opening to us some advantages of trade there,

and by a conjunction of interests in Europe, which they think the greatness of France makes as necessary to us as to them.

Their quarrel to France, by a course of almost continual wars ever since Charles the Vth's time, by the late pretensions to Flanders set on foot by France since the death of their last King, and pursued by the late invasion (which the Spaniards pretend to have been against all faith as well as right), seems to be grown wholly incurable, though dissembled by the sense of their own weakness, which makes them rather willing to deceive themselves with a peace that they know must fail them, than break out into a war they fear must ruin them, without the assistance of their neighbours. And this they hope some breach of the peace at Aix on the French side, or other accidents, may one time or other engage for them. And though, as they stand single, their present interest is but bare defence, and wearing out their King's minority without further losses; yet a greater interest, and far more at heart, is a war with France, in conjunction with the triple alliance, or at least with us and Holland. For though the peace holds yet, while France continues so great forces and designs on foot, the preservation of Flanders will cost Spain 200 m. pounds a-year, besides the revenues of the country. And what is left them in those provinces remains so locked and interwoven with the last French conquests, that upon the first breach of a war it is all endangered; and indeed cannot be any ways secured but by a strong diversion, which may employ the greatest part of the French forces in some other places. These regards, and that of being hardly used (as they conceive) by us and Holland in the Peace of Aix, which forced them to quit so much of their country to France, and of their money to Sweden, have

raised up a party in their Council that would make and secure the best peace they can with France, by a cession of Flanders to that Crown, in exchange for other provinces towards Spain, and of some other pretensions. But this will not be carried in a minority of their King; at least without greater fears of a sudden invasion from France, and greater despairs of help from us. Because, whenever they quit Flanders, they must be content to shut themselves up within their mountains, and signify nothing more in the affairs of Europe. Nor could they perhaps long be safe either in Spain or Italy, if they were there to sustain all the forces of France, without the great diversion they have always made by Flanders; out of which, whenever they are masters of the field, they march in four or five days up into the very isle of France.

To compass these two interests, either of defence or a war in confederacy, they would fain engage Sweden; but will endanger this aim, by the fear of venturing their money before the game begins. They reckon themselves sure of Holland as far as their defence, but know they will never be brought to begin a war with France. And the old rancours between Spaniard and Dutch are not yet enough worn out of the dispositions of the people or the governments, to make room for such an absolute turn. Their great hope is in England, where their inclination carries them as well as their interest. Besides, they think our old as well as fresh quarrels with France, and the jealousy of their present growth, will temper us for their turn at one time or other; so that their measures will ever be fair with us, but no more towards preserving their peace, because they think our interest as well as our treaties will be enough to engage us so far, without other motives; though to head a war against France, wherein both Sweden and Holland

would (as they think) follow our paces, there is no advantage which the Crown of Spain could make us in trade, nor money they could spare from their own necessities (in the share of the quarrel), which they would not willingly furnish us, and trust to the events of a war how uncertain soever.

The State of Holland, in point both of riches and strength, is the most prodigious growth that has been seen in the world, if we reckon it from their peace with Spain; before which time, though their forces were great both at land and sea, yet they were kept down by too violent exercise; and that government could not be said to stand upon its own legs, leaning always on their neighbours, who were willing to support them against Spain, and fearing nothing from a State so narrow in compass of land, and so weak in native subjects, that the strength of their armies has ever been made up of foreign troops. But since that time, what with the benefit of their situation, and orders of their government, the conduct of their Ministers (driving on steady and public interest), the art, industry, and parsimony of their people, all conspiring to derive almost the trade of the whole world into their circle (while their neighbours were taken up either in civil or foreign wars), they have grown so considerable in the world, that for many years they have treated upon an equal foot with all the great Princes of Europe, and concluded no negotiation without advantage: and, in the last war with us and Munster, were able at the same time to bring above an hundred men of war to sea, and maintain threescore and ten thousand men at land. Besides, the establishment or conquests of their companies in the East-Indies have in a manner erected another subordinate commonwealth in those parts; where, upon occasion, they have

armed five and forty men of war, and thirty thousand landmen, by the modestest computations. Yet the frame of this State (as of most great machines made for rest and not for motion) is absolutely incapable of making any considerable enlargements or conquests upon their neighbours; which is evident to all that know their constitutions, but needs no other argument besides their want of native subjects to manage any such attempts; what men they can spare being drawn so wholly into their trade and their East-Indies, that they cannot so much as furnish a colony for Surinam, proportioned to the safety and plantation of that place: and no nation ever made and held a conquest by mercenary arms; so that the wounds and fears they can give their neighbours consist in point of trade; in injuries or insolences at sea; in falling with great weight into a balance with other Princes; in protecting their rebels or fugitives; and in an arrogant way of treating with other Princes and States, a quality natural to men bred in popular governments, and derived of late years from the great successes of theirs under the present Ministry.

It may be laid (I believe) for a maxim, that no wise State will ever begin a war, unless it be upon designs of conquests, or necessity of defence; for all other wars serve only to exhaust forces and treasure, and end in untoward peaces, patched up out of weakness or weariness of the parties: therefore the Hollanders, unless invaded either at home or in Flanders (which they esteem now the same case, if it comes from France), can have no interest to offer at a war, but find their greatest in continuing their course of traffic uninterrupted, and enjoying the advantages which, in that point, their industry and address will gain them from all their neighbours. And for these ends they will

endeavour to preserve the peace now in being, and bandy by leagues and negotiations against any from whom they shall fear a breach of it.

They will ever seek to preserve themselves by an alliance with England against France, and by that of France against England, as they did formerly by both against Spain. And they will fall into all conjunctures which may serve to balance in some measure the two lesser Crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as well as the greater of France and Spain. But, because they believe that good arms are as necessary to keep peace as to make war, they will always be great in their preparations of that kind, especially at sea; by which they may, in all cases, advance or secure their trade, and, upon a war with France, make up that way the weakness of their land-forces, which a long rust of peace, and a swarm of officers, preferred by the magistrates in favour of their relations, has brought to be very disproportioned in force to what they are in number. They esteem themselves secure from Spain and their German neighbours (upon what has been said of the present condition of those Princes), and from us, not so much upon our late treaties with them, as upon what they take to be the common interest, which they think a nation can never run over, and believe is the opposing any further progress of the French greatness. Their only danger, they apprehend, is from France, and that not immediately to themselves, but to Flanders, where any flame would soon scorch them, and consume them, if not quenched in time. But in regard of the weakness of Spain, the slow motions of the Empire, the different paces among the Princes of it, and the distance of Sweden; they esteem the peace of Christendom to depend wholly upon his Majesty, as well as the safety of Flanders, in case of a war.

For they think France will be dared, and never take wing, while they see such a naval power as ours and the Dutch hovering about all their coasts; and so many other Princes ready to fall in, whenever his Majesty declares, united by the same jealousies or dangers. And, if they should open a war, they foresee the consumption which France must fall into by the stop of their wine, salts, and other commodities (now in a manner wholly taken off by our two nations), and the head that may be made against their forces in the field itself, by a body of English infantry (so much renowned abroad). So as though their first interest be to continue the peace, while it may be done with any safety; yet, when that fails, their next is to open a war in favour of Spain, and conjunction with us: and the greatest they have in the world, is to preserve and increase their alliance with us; which will make them follow our measures absolutely in all the present conjunctures.

The Crown of France, considered in the extent of country, in the number of people, in the riches of commodities, in the revenues of the King, the greatness of the land-forces now on foot, and the growth of those at sea (within these two years past), the number and bravery of their officers, the conduct of their Ministers, and chiefly in the genius of their present King; a Prince of great aspiring thoughts, unwearied application to whatever is in pursuit, severe in the institution and preservation of order and discipline; in the main a manager of his treasure, and yet bountiful from his own motions where-ever he intends the marks of favour, and discerns particular merit; to this, in the flower of his age, at the head of all his armies, and hitherto unfoiled in any of his attempts either at home or abroad: I say, considered in all these circum-

stances, France may appear to be designed for greater atchievements and empires, than have been seen in Christendom since that of Charlemaign.

The present greatness of this Crown may be chiefly derived from the fortune it has had of two great Ministers (Richelieu and Mazarine) succeeding one another, between two great Kings, Henry IV. and this present Prince; so as during the course of one unactive life, and of a long minority, that Crown gained a great deal of ground both at home and abroad, instead of losing it, which is the common fate of kingdoms upon those occasions.

The latter greatness of this Crown began in the time of Lewis XI. by the spoils of the house of Burgundy, and the divisions of the Princes, which gave that King the heart of attempting to bring the government (as he called it) *hors de page;* being before controuled by their Princes, and restrained by their states; and, in point of revenue, kept within the bounds of the King's demesnes, and the subjects voluntary contributions.

It is not here necessary to observe, by what difficulties and dangers to the Crown, this design of Lewis was pursued by many succeeding Kings, like a great stone forced up a hill, and, upon every slacking of either strength or care, rolling a great way back, often to the very bottom of the hill, and sometimes with the destruction of those that forced it on, till the time of Cardinal Richelieu. It was in this great Minister most to be admired, that finding the Regency shaken by the factions of so many great ones within, and awed by the terror of the Spanish greatness without, he durst resolve to look them both in the face, and begin a war, by the course of which for so many years (being pursued by Mazarine till the year 60), the Crown of France grew to be powerfully armed; the pea-

sants were accustomed to payments (which could have seemed necessary only by a war, and which none but a successful one could have helped to digest), and grew heartless as they grew poor. The Princes were sometimes satisfied with commands of the army, sometimes mortified and suppressed by the absoluteness or addresses of the Ministry: the most boiling blood of the nobility and gentry was let out in so long a war, or wasted with age and exercise: at last it ended at the Pyrenees in a peace, and a match so advantageous to France, as the reputation of them contributed much to the authority of the young King, who was bred up in the counsels, and served by the tried instruments of the former Ministry; but most of all advantaged by his own personal qualities, fit to make him obeyed, grew absolute master of the factions of the great men, as well as the purses of his people. In the beginning of his minority, the two disputes with the Pope about the outrage of the Corsi, and with the King of Spain, about the encounter at London, between the Count d'Estrades and the Baron de Banteville (Ambassadors from those Crowns) both carried so high, and both ended so honourably, and to the very will of France, were enough to give a young Prince the humour and appetite of trying yet further what there was could oppose him. The invasion and easy success in Flanders fed his glory, and increased the reputation of his power, till this career was interrupted by the peace at first, then the alliances between us and Holland, and afterwards the peace at Aix, and the triple alliance contracted purposely to secure it; since which time the counsels of that Court have turned wholly from action to negotiation; of which no man can yet see the success, nor judge whether it may not be more prosperous to them, than that of their arms.

If there were any certain height where the flights of power and ambition use to end, one might imagine, that the interest of France were but to conserve its present greatness, so feared by its neighbours, and so glorious in the world: but besides that the motions and desires of human minds are endless, it may perhaps be necessary for France (from respects within) to have some war or other in pursuit abroad, which may amuse the nation, and keep them from reflecting upon their condition at home, hard and uneasy to all but such as are in charge, or in pay from the Court. I do not say miserable (the term usually given it), because no condition is so, but to him that esteems it so; and if a *paisan* of France thinks of no more than his coarse bread and his onions, his canvas cloaths and wooden shoes; labours contentedly on working-days, and dances or plays merrily on holy-days; he may, for ought I know, live as well as a boor of Holland, who is either weary of his very ease, or whose cares of growing still richer and richer waste his life in toils at land, or dangers at sea; and perhaps fool him so far, as to make him enjoy less of all kind in his riches, than the other in his poverty.

But to leave strains of philosophy, which are ill mingled with discourses of interest: the common people of France are as little considerable in the government, as the children; so that the nobles and the soldiers may in a manner be esteemed the nation; whose interest and hopes carry them all to war: and whatever is the general humour and bent of a nation ought ever to be much considered by a State, which can hardly miscarry in the pursuit of it. Besides, the personal dispositions of the King, active and aspiring, and many circumstances in the government (fitter for persons of that Court than strangers to pretend the knowledge of); the

continual increase of their forces in time of peace, and their fresh invasion of Lorrain, are enough to persuade most men, that the design of this Crown is a war, whenever they can open it with a prospect of succeeding to purpose; for their counsels are too wise to venture much upon the hopes of little gains. What the aims of France are in this kind, I will not pretend to judge by common fears, or the schemes of men too ingeniously politic; nor perhaps can any one tell any more than a man that leaps into the water in strength and vigour, and with pleasure, can say how far he will swim; which will be, till he is stopped by currents or accidents, or grows weary, or has a mind to do something else. One may judge, that, if France will begin a war, it would be naturally upon Flanders, unless discouraged by the same alliances which prevailed with them to end the last; so as the plain present interest of France is one way or other to break the confidence or the force of that triple alliance, which alone seems to bound their prospect, which way soever they look: and, if once laid open, they have the world and their fortunes before them; which is enough for a Crown that has so much force, and so much conduct to manage them. Having little hopes of breaking this on the Dutch side, and knowing the Swede will follow our measures in it, we may be sure of all address, and all the courtship that can any way be infused: and in short, all sorts of endeavours and applications that can be used, to break in on ours. Which seems to be the present game of that Crown, and that they will begin no other till they see an end of this.

Flanders cannot be considered distinct from Spain in the government, but may in the inclinations of the people, which must ever have a great in-

fluence upon it. They are the best subjects in the world, but may have some reason to be weary of being the theatre of almost perpetual wars; and where those two mighty Crowns have fought so many battles, and seem to have still so many more to fight, if the neighbour assistances fall in to balance their powers, now so unequally matched. Therefore the interest of the inhabitants of those Spanish provinces seems to be, either that the present peace should be kept inviolate by the strength and reputation of the present alliances; or else, that a war, when it opens, should have a sudden issue, which might be expected, either from the French conquest, or a proposition of exchange. They are naturally averse from the French government, as they are inclined to the Spanish; but have so little kindness for the Hollanders, or esteem of their land-forces, that they hardly either hope or care to be saved by their assistances. So as the reputation of his Majesty's protection and alliance is all that can inspire them with the hopes of a lasting peace, or the courage to defend themselves by a war.

From the survey of all these several interests, and forces, and dispositions that compose the present state of all our neighbours, it may be naturally and unquestionably concluded, that a continuance of the present measures, the opening of new ones, or an absolute revolution of all, depends wholly upon those his Majesty shall take or pursue in this great conjuncture, wherein he seems to be generally allowed for the sole arbiter of the affairs of Christendom.

Our interest abroad must lie in one of these points. Either to preserve our present alliances,

and thereby the peace of Christendom as it now stands:

Or to encourage France to an invasion of Holland, with assurance of our neutrality:

Or else to join with France upon the advantages they can offer us, for the ruin of the Dutch.

Upon the first is to be considered, whether, with a longer peace, the power of France and Holland, with so great revenues, and such application as is seen in their governments, will not increase every year out of proportion to what ours will do; the revenues of France arising originally from the vent of their native commodities, and those of Holland growing wholly out of trade, and that out of peace.

Upon the second, whether France will ever resolve upon the invasion of Holland, or Holland upon its own resolute defence, without our share in the war; which would otherwise leave us to enjoy the trade of the world, and thereby to grow vastly both in strength and treasures, whilst both these powers were breaking one another. Or whether the jealousy of such a design in us would not induce France and Holland, either before a war, or soon after it begins, to close upon some measures between them to our disadvantage, as we and Holland did after the last war, to the disadvantage of France.

Upon the last, whether, by the ruin of Holland, we can reap as great advantages as France (though perhaps greater were necessary to make some equality in our powers). And, to gain a fair prospect of this, it must be considered, whether Holland upon its fall would grow an accession to the French or to us; or live under the Prince of Orange as a sovereign Prince, with our support or protection. Whether France would be content with either of these last; or to see us grow absolute masters of the

sea, by the fall or subjection of Holland, any more than by their conjunction and alliance. Whether we could be able to defend the maritime provinces, either in our own subjection, or in that of the Prince, whilst France remained possessed of all the outworks of that State, which are their inland provinces, their towns in Brabant and upon the Rhine: whether we could, on the other side, hinder the accession of Holland to France, either as subjects in a maritime province (with great privileges and immunities for continuance and encouragement of trade) or as an inferior and dependent ally under their protection. Whether in either of these cases our government would have credit enough in Holland to invite their shipping and traders to come over and settle in England, and so leave those provinces destitute of both. Whether it be possible to preserve Flanders after the loss of Holland; or, upon the conquest of those countries by France, for us to preserve our peace or good intelligence with that King; or upon a war to defend ourselves, either by our own forces, or the alliances of our neighbours.

But though these arguments may deserve the most serious deliberations of Ministers at home; yet I know they lie out of the compass of my duty, and are improper for the representations of a man, the course of whose employments and thoughts for so long a time has lain wholly abroad.

TO

THE DUKE OF ORMOND,

WRITTEN IN OCTOBER, 1673,

UPON HIS GRACE'S DESIRING ME TO GIVE HIM MY OPINION, WHAT WAS TO BE DONE IN THAT CONJUNCTURE.

THERE never was any conjuncture wherein it was more necessary for his Majesty to fall into a course of wise and steady counsels, nor ever any wherein it was more difficult to advise him. To make reflections upon what is past is the part of ingenious, but irresolute men, or else of such as intend to value themselves by comparison with others whose corruptions or follies they condemn. But, in all matters of counsel, the good and prudent part is to take things as they are (since the past cannot be recalled), to propose remedies for the present evils, and provisions against future events.

The King finds himself engaged in the second year of a war with the Dutch; and for prosecution thereof in a strict alliance with France; and now in danger of being entangled in the quarrel broken out upon this occasion between France and the House of Austria. In this state of affairs, it is to be considered whether we can pursue our war with Holland, and yet preserve our peace with Spain; whether we are able to maintain the war with both in conjunction with France; and if not, what there is left for his Majesty to do, with the best regard to his honour and safety.

For the first, we shall soon be out of doubt; but in the mean time it is very unlikely that, upon the late conjunction between Holland and Spain, the Dutch should have obliged themselves to make no peace without the inclusion of their allies; and that Spain should not have yielded to break with us, in case they could not effect a peace between us and Holland; since the Dutch know nothing could farther induce us to it, than the fear of a breach with Spain, and so great a loss of trade in those dominions. The Spaniards have but one temptation of their own to quarrel with us, which is an occasion of recovering Jamaica; for that has even lain at their hearts, and it is to be feared their conjunction with Holland has not been perfected without early measures between them for the surprise of that island, unless our care has been as early in providing for its defence. And if we should lose it, I foresee little hurt we could do Spain in their Indies, guarded as they would be, and attended by the shipping of the Dutch. But his Majesty will, I suppose, soon know from Spain what he is to trust to in this point.

To judge, whether upon a breach with Spain we are able to maintain the war, must be considered the present state of the King's treasure, the rise or fall that may happen in his constant revenue by the Spanish war, the hopes that may be grounded upon supplies from France, the assurance or measure of those expected from the Parliament, the credit of the Exchequer to raise present money where-ever any of these fall short, and the humour of the nation towards carrying on or ending the war.

For the present state of the Treasury, the King best knows it himself, or his officers can best give the account. For the changes that may happen

in his revenue, it is evident they must be much for the worse the very first year of a Spanish war. The main branch of it, which is the customs, must wither away in a very great measure, since all the trade in a manner left us upon the Dutch war (that has turned to any account) has been that with Spain and into the Straits: the first upon a Spanish war will be wholly lost; the last can neither be secured by our own convoys, nor by the French fleets in the Mediterranean, from the Dutch capers that will fill the Spanish havens, and from those of Biscay, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Majorca, which in all wars have been the nests of picaroons; so that no way seems left of beginning this war, but as the Dutch began theirs, by leaving off all trade in the nation while it lasts. But the case is very different between them and us; for they have still a trade left from the North, which, running upon a sandy coast from Hamburg, is secured from our fleets; and they have driven a great commerce by collusion with the Swedes, Danes, Hamburghers, Bremeners, and Flemish, ever since the war began. Besides, the hearts of their people (which would otherwise have sunk by the loss of trade) have been kept up by the necessity of their defence, by the last extremities which were threatened them from the war, and by the general opinion of justice in their cause, both from these circumstances, and the manner of ours and of the French beginning the war.

This makes the States content to impose, and the people to suffer, the utmost payments; and besides, in a manner all men of fortunes among them have a great part of their estates lying in the cantores of the States or the Provinces, which would all be lost upon the conquest of their country; so as they will lend to the last, for securing

so much as is already in danger. And these are circumstances which will not be found in our dispositions or constitutions.

For supplies from France, it must be considered how their money has been drained out of that kingdom since this war began, by their payments to us, and to Sweden, to the Bishops of Cologne and Munster, and some other Princes of Germany; by their armies in Germany, and the new conquests in Holland; all which returns no more into France, as money did in their former wars with Spain, that were made chiefly upon their confines; for then the pays of their armies being made only in the winter-quarters, which were in France or its frontiers, the money fell back again into the circulation of their own country: yet now their expence must upon a Spanish war be increased by new armies in Catalonia and Italy, and new fleets in the Mediterranean; so that all these circumstances, with the general decay of trade by the war, must in few years time leave that kingdom poorer than it has been this age; and, where money is not, the King of France himself cannot have it.

For what supplies may come from the Parliament towards carrying on the war, some few days, I suppose, will inform us; and no measures can be taken unless by what passed in the former session, which was not very favourable to that design.

For the credit of the Exchequer (at least to any measure that may supply the course or necessities of a war), I fear, it is irrecoverably lost by the last breach with the bankers: for credit is gained by custom and course of time, and seldom recovers a strain; but, if broken, is never well set again. I have heard a great example given of this (by some of our merchants) that happened upon the last King's seizing 200,000*l.* that was in the Mint about the year 38, which had then the credit of a

bank, and for several years had been the treasury of all the vast payments transmitted from Spain to Flanders. But, after this invasion of it, though the King paid back the money within very few months, yet the Mint has never since recovered its credit among foreign merchants.

If the business of money should happen to go lame upon any or all of these feet, then all that will be left to carry on the war is the humour of the nation: and that sometimes may go farther than any treasures, if spirited by hatred or revenge, by the love of religion or liberty, or the necessity of defence: but the good-will of the nation to the present war (as it was foreseen by those who gave the desperate counsels of beginning it with the proroguing of the Parliament, and stopping of the Exchequer; so it) has been since but too much experienced by the successes have attended it, which will ever depend upon the humours and opinions of those that serve, as well as the abilities and conduct of those that command; and not to speak of those incurable jealousies which have been so generally raised or infused into the people about the first designs of this war, and so much increased by the professions or actions, or at least the general reputation, of those who pass for the chief authors of it: it is at least observable, that after so long hostility, and four battles, yet the nation does not seem at all to be angry, though that is the first thing should be brought about, if we would have men fight.

It is, I doubt, little to be hoped, that a breach with Spain should make us any kinder to the war than we were before; since that must grow wholly upon occasion of the French, we having no quarrel there of our own. And our kindness to France will spirit us as little as our hatred to Spain, at least till their fortunes change, and the balance

rise again on the Spanish side, which has risen so long and to such a height on the French; for by the course of human nature there will ever be a degree of hatred mingled with fear, and of kindness with compassion.

Upon the survey of these provisions and dispositions, it must be concluded necessary for his Majesty either to make a peace, or else to turn the war directly upon such points of honour, justice, and safety, as may engage both the Parliament and nation in the support and prosecution of the war. And, to do this, he must at least offer at a peace, and upon terms into which the humour and spirit of the nation will run.

The conjunction now perfected between Holland and Spain seems the happiest thing that could have arrived to his Majesty's affairs upon this occasion; for whilst Holland stood alone, in case we had been forced to offer at any measures with them, France might upon the first jealousy have been before us, and slipping one knot might have tied another in three days time. But now the interests of the Empire, Spain, and Lorrain, are woven together with those of Holland, it will not be a short and easy work to adjust those of France with the Emperor in the matters of Alsatia, with Spain in Flanders, or the Duke of Lorrain in that dutchy; nor is the conjunction between Holland and their allies likely to be broken, unless by the revolutions of war the Dutch come to apprehend a near and greater danger from Spain, in which case they will not fail of returning to their old measures with France.

The first pace, which seems necessary for his Majesty to make, is to fall into confidence with Spain as far as possibly he can, by assuring them he resolves upon a neutrality in the war between them and France; that, if he comes to a peace with

Holland, he intends it shall come by their mediation; and, if that be effected, he will employ his own towards the general peace of Christendom, and particularly that between France and Spain.

The next point is to resolve upon the conditions necessary to a peace; the best way to this, is to seek without passion where the justice lies, and the true interests of his Majesty's crowns, as it is generally understood by his people, of which the sense of his Parliament is the best testimony; for their concurrence will give weight to his demands of peace, or to the support of a war.

Between us and Holland, the points of justice must be grounded upon the infraction of treaties, and so will reach only to the business of the flag and of Surinam. For the flag, it has been agreed by three several treaties in the same form; but, the articles still referring to former use, it remains to discuss and agree particularly what that has been, and to explain the manner and circumstances of observing it. Without this, no peace we can have will seem to be made with intentions to keep it long, while the interpretation of that article about the flag, is a ground at pleasure for opening a war. And this point can only be gained by a separate peace between us and Holland; for if the war should come to end in a general treaty, like that of Munster, as his Majesty's interest would be less considered in a crowd of so many others, and would hardly be suffered to obstruct a general peace; so this right of the flag, in particular, would be at least disfavoured, if not opposed, by our friends as well as our enemies; that is, by France, Sweden, Denmark, as well as Spain and Holland.

The business of Surinam is a trifle, and the disputes upon it arose rather from an unkind and jealous humour growing between the nations, than from any difference or difficulty in adjusting it; so

as that is not a thing will lie much in the way, being soon decided by plain articles upon the surrender of the place.

There are two points more wherein the honour and interest of the nation is concerned, and ought to be insisted upon, so far at least as to find a temper in them, though they can hardly be said to be points of justice, because they are not regulated by treaties. The first is the point of the East-India trade, wherein we desire new agreements between us, upon suspicion of what may happen, rather than complain of any breach in the old; and though our East-India Company never urged their desires as a just ground for a quarrel, yet a great deal might have been gained in this point from the Dutch, while they depended upon our alliance; and I suppose may be still, if we fall into it again.

The second is an acknowledgment to his Majesty for the leave of fishing upon his coasts; and though this may not be grounded upon any treaty, yet, if it appear to have been an ancient right on our side, and custom on theirs, and not determined or extinguished by any treaty between us, it may with justice be insisted on; though it will pass harder with the Dutch than any of the rest, who will much easier be induced to buy off the pretence with a great sum of money at one or more payments, than acknowledge it by a constant tribute.

The last thing his Majesty can demand from Holland, is money for the charges of the war. But, unless the justice or necessity of it were agreed on between us, that will have but a weak ground. And if we expect money, it must be to purchase what is to come, and not to pay for what is past: and it is very probable, that if his Majesty should resolve of a peace with Holland, to enter into a mediation between France and Spain, upon the evident points of justice between them, and to join

against that Crown which refuses the peace, both Spain and Holland would be content to part with their money upon such an agreement. But the measure and manner must be left to private treaty, and would depend upon the confidence between us.

Whatever, in any of these points, or any other, his Majesty should be content to release, ought to be done upon the satisfaction he should declare to have received in the advancement of the Prince of Orange to the charges of his ancestors. But for his Majesty to insist upon any further advantages to the Prince, than are already devolved upon him, would not only raise invincible difficulties in our treaty with the States, but prejudice the Prince's affairs among them in a very great measure. And the Prince, I believe, knows their constitution so well, as to understand it so.

If upon good terms in these particulars a peace can be effected with Holland, the honour of this Crown will certainly be provided for, and the interest of it, to a higher degree than could have been gained even without the events of a war; since we should be left in peace to enjoy the trade of the world, while the House of Austria and Holland would be engaged in a long war with France; and whenever they grew weary, his Majesty would have the glory and advantage of mediating the peace.

For the measures to be observed in all this with France, and the preserving his Majesty's honour on that side: first, the humour of the Parliament as to this war, and the interest of the nation in the trade with Spain, ought to be represented to them as difficulties invincible, unless France can furnish the charge which the war will cost, beyond what can be spared out of his Majesty's constant revenue. Then his Majesty may propose to them his design of neutrality between them and Spain; which I suppose was not a point that entered into any

agreements against Holland. And lastly, he may desire their consent, since he cannot prosecute the war, to make his peace with Holland, upon the assurance of employing afterwards his mediation between them and Spain, in which the concurrence of his Parliament will make him able to effect a peace, as the want of it has made him unable to pursue the war. If France will not consent either to furnish us with money sufficient to carry on the war, nor to our neutrality with Spain, nor peace with Holland, it would then be considered, whether France, in the like case, would suffer such a conjuncture as this to escape them upon any ties or treaties between us: or whether indeed any Prince or State would do so. A conjuncture whereby the honour and interest of his Majesty's Crown may be provided for; the trade of the nation raised to a height it has not reached before; the passionate bent and humour of the people pleased, and their jealousies in a great measure allayed; the true balance of Christendom maintained; all the Princes and States of it (besides France alone) satisfied; and, in short, by which his Majesty may grow again insensibly into the hearts of his people at home, and into the influence upon all affairs of his neighbours abroad.

It is a rude thing which is commonly said, that we may come off from France with as much honour as we came on: but it is a true thing, that he has always the honour of the war, that has the advantage of it; and it is, I doubt, so of a peace too; and that cannot fail us here, provided we make sure of Spain (in case we apprehend our losing of France), to which their dispositions and interests must certainly concur with ours in all points, unless that of Jamaica make an exception.

All the difficulty his Majesty can meet with, in this pursuit, will be some want of reputation and

trust with the governments of Spain and Holland, which have been foiled of late by the breach of our former alliances, so much (as they think) against our own interests as well as theirs; for all treaties are grounded upon the common belief that every State will be ever found in their own interests, among which their honour and observance of faith grows to be one very considerable (because, while the minds of men are generally possessed with a belief of God Almighty's concerning himself in affairs here below, the opinion of justice or injustice in a quarrel will never fail of having mighty effect upon the successes of a war): therefore our reputation cannot any way be so far recovered with our neighbours, as by their finding that his Majesty's counsels return into the true interests of his kingdoms; which will make the Spaniards believe our measures may be firm with them, upon the same reason which has shaken them with France. Thus much is certain, that whatever means will restore, or raise the credit of his Majesty's government at home, will do it abroad too: for a King of England, at the head of his Parliament and people, and in their hearts and interests, can never fail of making what figure he pleases in the world, nor of being safe and easy at home; and may despise all the designs of factious men, who can only make themselves considered by seeming to be in the interest of the nation, when the Court seems to be out of it. But, in running on counsels contrary to the general humour and spirit of the people, the King indeed may make his Ministers great subjects, but they can never make him a great Prince.

MEMOIRS

OF

WHAT PASSED IN CHRISTENDOM

FROM

THE WAR BEGUN 1672,

TO

THE PEACE CONCLUDED 1679.

THE

PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

(Prefixed to the first Edition of these Memoirs in 1691.)

READER,

THESE following papers I obtained from a person to whom I must never restore them again; and the author has not, that I know of, enquired after them since I had them. I must needs confess, it is but too plain by the epistle, that he intended they should not be public during his life; but though I have as great respect for him as any man, yet I could not be of his mind in this; I think I should do the world wrong, to conceal any longer a treatise of so much profit and pleasure to all that read it; and I hope I shall not be thought to do the author any in publishing it, since the charge of not doing it was not given to me. I think likewise that if any of his friends can obtain of him the first and third parts of these Memoirs that are mentioned in them, they will do the public a great piece of service; and if they should come from the author's last hand, they may chance to be more correct than these, which look as though they had never been reviewed by the author, but just as they fell from his pen: however, I do not remember to have met with a treatise in any language that I understand, which in my poor judgment is written with more candor and truth and thorough insight into the matters it relates, stuft with greater variety of subjects, digested into better order and method, and exprest with more clearness and spirit, than this is. I have not therefore, as I think there is no need, changed a word in them; but only where things are said in French or Latin, I have thought fit to translate them in another column, or the margin; and if I have not done it so well as I should do, I crave the reader's pardon, and in all else, do not doubt of his thanks. I shall say nothing of the author, who will be known by the first pages of the book; nor of the time or motive of its writing, which are seen by the epistle; but only heartily pray to God to give him good health and a long life, that he may continue, as he has ever been, the ornament of learning and to his country.

TO MY SON.

April, 1683.

I DO not remember ever to have refused any thing you have desired of me; which I take to be a greater compliment to you than to myself, since for a young man to make none but reasonable desires, is yet more extraordinary than for an old man to think them so. That which you made me some time since, and have so often renewed, I have at last resolved to comply with, as well as the re st; and, if I live, will leave you some Memoirs of what has passed in my public employments, especially those abroad, which reached from the year 1665 to 1678, and ran through the most important foreign negotiations of the Crown, with great connexion of affairs at home during this period, and the revolutions it produced. The confidence of the King my Master, and of his chief Ministers, as well as that of others abroad, gave me the advantage to discern and observe the true springs and motions of both; which were often mistaken in Court and Parliament, and thereby fastened many suspicions, confidences, applauses, reproaches, upon persons, and at times where they were very undeserved. Twenty years of my life I passed in public thoughts and business, from the thirty-second to the fifty-second year of my age; which I take to be the part of a man's life fittest to be dedicated to the service of his Prince or State, the rest being usually too much taken up with his pleasures or his ease. The native love of my country, and its ancient legal constitutions, would not suffer me to enter into any public affairs, till the way was open for the King's happy restoration in 1660. And in 1680, you know, I sent you to acquaint the King with my resolutions to pass the remainder of my life like as good a private subject as any he had, but never more to meddle with any public em-

ployment. All the rest of my age before and since that period, I have taken no more notice of what passed upon the public scene, than an old man uses to do of what is acted on a theatre, where he gets as easy a seat as he can, entertains himself with what passes upon the stage, not caring who the actors are, or what the plot, nor whether he goes out before the play be done. Therefore you must expect nothing from me out of the compass of that time, nor any thing of that itself with much application or care, further than of truth. You know how lazy I am in my temper, how uneasy in my health, how weak my eyes, and how much of my time passes in walking or riding, and thereby fencing all I can against two cruel diseases that have for some time pursued me; so that I doubt the satisfaction you expect will be chiefly owing to ill health or ill weather, which yet are not like to fail at my age and in our climate. For the rest, if you find any thing either instructing or diverting in what I shall write upon this subject, you may attribute it wholly to the kindness and esteem I have for you, without which I should not have given myself the trouble of such recollections; and as I intend them for your use, so I desire no other may be made of them during my life: when that is ended, neither they nor you will be any more in my care; and whatever I leave of this, or any other kind, will be in your disposal. I am the gladder, and it is but just, that my public employments should contribute something to your entertainment, since they have done so little to your fortune, upon which I can make you no excuses; it was a thing so often in my power, that it was never in my thoughts; which were turned always upon how much less I needed, rather than how much more. If yours have the same turn, you will be but too rich; if the contrary, you will be ever poor.

MEMOIRS

OF

WHAT PASSED IN CHRISTENDOM

FROM 1672 TO 1679.

CHAPTER I.

HAVING ended the first part of these Memoirs with my retirement from all public business in the year 1671, which was soon followed by the second Dutch war; I shall begin this with the approaches of the peace in the year 1673.

About this time, after two summers spent in a war between England and Holland, with several encounters at sea, but no decisive action, both parties began to enter upon thoughts, and indeed necessities, of a peace. The nations had been at war without being angry; and the quarrel had been thought on both sides rather of the Ministries than the people. The Dutch believed it at first intended only against De Witt's faction, in favour of the Prince of Orange; and in England some laid it to the corruption of Ministers by the money of France; and some, that pretended to think deeper, laid it to deeper designs. The Lord Clifford's violence, in beginning it, gave it an ill air in general; and the disuse of Parliaments, a cruel maim in the chief sinews of war.

The subsidies from France bore no proportion to the charge of our fleets, and our strength at sea seemed rather lessened than increased by the conjunction of theirs: our seamen fought without heart, and were more afraid of their friends than their enemies; and our discontents were so great at land, that the assembling of our militia to defend our coasts was thought as dangerous as an invasion. But that, which most pressed his Majesty to the thoughts of a peace, was the resolution of Spain to declare war against England, as they had done already against France, in favour of Holland, unless the peace were suddenly made; which would have been such a blow to our trade, as could not easily have been fenced, and lost us that of the Mediterranean, as the Dutch war had done that of the Northern Seas: so as the necessity of this conjuncture was only kept off by the honour of our alliance with France. However, that Crown being not able to furnish supplies enough to carry on the war without a Parliament, could not oppose the calling one upon this occasion. When the Parliament met, though they seemed willing to give the King money, yet it was to make the peace with Holland, and not to carry on the war; and, upon his Majesty's demanding their advice, they gave it unanimously, that the peace should be made.

There were too many parties engaged in this quarrel to think of a general peace, though a treaty to that purpose had been set on foot at Cologne, under the mediation of the Swedes, between the Ministers of the Emperor, Spain, Holland, and some Princes of the Empire on the one part, and his Majesty and France on the other, but without any the least appearance of success; for though all the confederates had a mind to the peace between England and Holland, yet none of them desired it

with France. This made both the Dutch and the Spaniards set on foot all the engines they could, to engage his Majesty in some treaty of a separate peace; to which the necessity of his affairs, the humour of his people, and the instances of his Parliament, at last determined him, towards the end of the year 1673.

Upon the first meeting of the Parliament, the Duke of Buckingham, to ingratiate himself with the House of Commons, (whose ill humour began to appear against those they esteemed the chief authors of the war), had desired leave of that House, that he might be heard there in his own defence upon that subject. In his speech, among many endeavours to throw the odium of the war from himself upon my Lord Arlington, he desired that Lord might be asked, who was the author of the triple alliance? as if he understood himself to be so. The Lord Arlington coming afterwards upon the like desire into the same House of Commons, and answering some parts of the Duke's speech; when he came to that particular, he told them he could easily answer that question of the Duke's, by telling them that the author of that alliance was Sir William Temple. This, I suppose, gave the occasion for reflections upon what had passed in the course of my former embassies in Holland and at Aix; and his Majesty, and his Ministers, the resolution to send for me out of my private retreat, where I had passed two years (as I intended to do the rest of my life), and to engage me in going over into Holland, to make the separate peace with that State.

Upon the 2d of February, 1673-4, his Majesty received the certain advice of the States having passed a resolution, that the charges and dignities possessed by the Prince of Orange, and his ancestors, should become hereditary to his children:

aud at the same time he also received a letter from the States, with the desire of passports for the Ambassadors, whom they resolved to send to his Majesty with instructions and powers to treat and conclude a peace; and in the mean time they offered a suspension of arms. This offer coming upon the neck of the Parliament's advice to his Majesty to enter into treaty with the Spanish Ambassador upon the propositions he had advanced, and which the King had ordered to be sent to the Parliament, it was not believed by the Ministers that a treaty could be refused, without drawing too much odium upon themselves, and reflection upon the government: on the other side, it was suspected what practices might be set on foot by Dutch Ambassadors, upon the general discontent reigning against the present war. Therefore, that very afternoon, a resolution was taken at the private junto, to send, rather than to receive, an embassy upon this subject; and that I should be the person employed. Two gentlemen were sent to my house within half an hour of one another, from the Earl of Danby, then Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of Arlington, First Secretary of State, to order my attendance upon his Majesty. My Lord Arlington told me, he would not pretend the merit of having named me upon this occasion, nor could he well tell whether the King or Lord Treasurer did it first; but that the whole committee had joined in it; and concluded that, since the peace was to be made, there was no other person to be thought of for it: and accordingly the King gave me his commands, with many expressions of kindness and confidence, to prepare for my journey; and the Secretary to draw up my instructions. I told the King I would obey him, and with a great deal of pleasure to see his Majesty returning to the measures upon which I had formerly served him; but,

that I might do it the better, I begged of him that I might go over without the character of Ambassador, which would delay or embarrass me with preparations of equipage, and with ceremonies there, that were unnecessary to so sudden a dispatch. His Majesty thought what I said very pertinent, and so ordered that I should go only as Plenipotentiary; but that I should have in all kinds the appointment of Ambassador, and that I should take upon me the character too when the peace was concluded.

Within three days I was ready; and, the morning my dispatches were so too, the Marquis of Frezno, Spanish Ambassador, sent my Lord Arlington word (while I was with him), that he had received full power from the States to treat and conclude a peace, and was ready to enter upon it whenever his Majesty pleased. My Lord Arlington, surprised, was at first of opinion the King should go on in his own way, and I my journey, and give the Spaniards no part in the affair: I was of another mind, and that besides the point of honour, which was clear in having the peace made rather at London than the Hague, I thought that of interest might be the better pursued when we were sought to by the States, than when we sought to them: besides, I believed the Spaniard would play us fair in a game that he thought so much his own, and not suffer the Dutch to stop at any small points, especially those of honour; whereas that of the flag (though such) was one his Majesty ought to lay most to heart. My Lord Arlington, after some debate, agreed with me, and desired me to go immediately and acquaint the King with this new and unexpected incident, who was then at the House of Lords. The King seemed pleased with the change, and told me that, since I did not treat it at the Hague, I should, however,

at London; and bid me go and acquaint the Marquis of Frezno with his resolution, that, if he and I could agree upon the terms, the thing should soon be done.

The terms to be insisted on were soon agreed by his Majesty at the foreign committee, which was composed of the Lord Chancellor Finch, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Arlington and Mr. Henry Coventry Secretaries of State, with whom his Majesty ordered my attendance upon this affair. When I was instructed of his Majesty's pleasure, I went to the Marquis of Frezno, and at three meetings I concluded the whole treaty, with satisfaction to his Majesty, and transport to the Marquis, upon so great an honour as he thought it to himself, and the fortunes he expected upon it from his Master. The articles, being public, need no place here. The two points of greatest difficulty were that of the flag, and the recalling all English troops out of the French service. This last was composed by private engagements to suffer those that were there to wear out without any recruits, and to permit no new ones to go over; but at the same time to give leave for such levies as the States should think fit to make in his Majesty's dominions, both of English and Scots regiments. The other of the flag was carried to all the height his Majesty could wish; and thereby a claim of the Crown, the acknowledgment of its dominion in the narrow seas, allowed by treaty from the most powerful of our neighbours at sea, which had never yet been yielded to by the weakest of them, that I remember, in the whole course of our pretence; and had served hitherto but for an occasion of quarrel, whenever we or they had a mind to it, upon other reasons or conjectures. Nothing, I confess, had ever given me a greater pleasure, in the greatest public affairs I had run through, than this success; as having

been a point I ever had at heart, and in my endeavours to gain upon my first negotiations in Holland; but found Monsieur de Witt ever inflexible, though he agreed with me that it would be a rock upon which our firmest alliances would be in danger to strike and to split, whenever other circumstances fell in to make either of the parties content to alter the measures we had entered into upon the triple alliance. The sum of money given his Majesty by the States, though it was not considerable in itself, and less to the King, by the greatest part of it being applied to the Prince of Orange's satisfaction for his mother's portion that had never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole honour of the peace, as the sum given by the Parliament upon it and the general satisfaction of his people made the ease of it. And thus happily ended our part of a war so fatal to the rest of Christendom in the consequences of it, which no man perhaps now alive will see the end of; and had been begun and carried on as far as it would go, under the Ministry of five men who were usually called the *Cabal*, a word unluckily falling out of the five first letters of their names, that is, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. But though the counsels and conduct of these men had begun the war with two unusual strains to the honour of the Crown, in the attack of the Smyrna fleet, and stopping of the Bank; yet it must be allowed them to have succeeded well in the honours they proposed to themselves: Clifford having gained by it the place of High Treasurer, and title of a Baron; Ashley, the Chancellor's place, and an Earldom; Arlington, an Earldom, with the Garter; and Lauderdale a Dukedom with the Garter. The Duke of Buckingham, being already possessed of all the honours the Crown could give of that kind, contented himself to make

no better a bargain in this matter than he used to do in all others that concerned him; and so pretended no further than commands in the army. And thus, instead of making so great a King as they pretended by this Dutch war and French alliance, they had the honour of making only four great subjects.

After the peace was made, his Majesty's first care was to soften the stroke as much as he could towards France; which was done by representing the necessities of it (that needed no false colours), and at the same time to offer his mediation between the parties remaining still in the war, in case France either desired or accepted it; which took up some time to determine. In the mean while I continued in the posture and thoughts of the private man I was before this revolution, till about a week after the whole conclusion of it, when my Lord Arlington told me how kindly the King took of me both the readiness I had expressed to go over into Holland, and the easiness I shewed upon the failing of that commission, as well as the pains and success in the treaty with the Spanish Ambassador; and, not knowing any thing better he had to give me, he was resolved to send me Ambassador extraordinary into Spain; and to that purpose immediately to recall Sir William Godolphin, the ordinary Ambassador there, for many reasons that, he said, made it necessary in this conjuncture.

I acknowledged the honour his Majesty intended me, but desired time to give my answer till I had consulted my father upon it, who was then in Ireland, but in the intention of coming suddenly over; however, in a month I undertook to resolve. My Lord Arlington told me he did not expect any demur upon such an offer, which he took to be of the best employment the King had to give,

and therefore he had already acquainted the Spanish Ambassador with it, who received it with great joy, and resolved immediately to give part of it to the Court of Madrid; which he was sure was already done, and therefore he would reckon upon it as a thing concluded; though, for the good grace of it to my father, he undertook the King would give me the time I asked to resolve. When I writ to my father upon this subject, he was so violent against my charging myself with this embassy, that I could not find any temper to satisfy him, and upon it was forced to make my excuses to the King. When I did so, his Majesty was pleased to assure me he did not at all take it ill of me; and that, on the contrary, he intended me a better employment; that he was at present engaged for the Secretary's place, upon my Lord Arlington's removal to Chamberlain; but that he resolved the next removal should be to make room for me. This I told my Lord Arlington, who presently said, that he believed I could not refuse the Spanish embassy, but upon design of the Secretary's place; and since I desired it, and the King fell into it of himself, he would play the easiest part in it that he could. He was indeed agreed with Sir Joseph Williamson for 6000*l.* and the King had consented that he should enter upon it at his return from Cologne, which was every day expected; but yet he made such a difference between the persons, that he would find some way to avoid it, in case I would lay down the 6000*l.* I assured his Lordship I had no such design, nor such a sum of money to lay down while my father enjoyed the estate of the family: that, if I had, I should be very unwilling to pursue it so far as to give his Lordship any strain in a matter already promised and concluded; and therefore desired him to think no further of it. But he was not of

opinion I could stick at any thing but the money, and acquainted Mr. Montague and Mr. Sidney, who were friends to us both, with this transaction, and set them upon me to bring it to an issue before the other came over: they both endeavoured it with great instances, and Mr. Montague was so kind as to offer to lend me the money, but I was positive in refusing it; yet at the same time I told my Lord Arlington, that, not to seem humorous in declining the offers he had made me from the King or from himself, I was content they should both know, that, if his Majesty had occasion to send an embassy into Holland upon the peace, I would very willingly serve him there, where I knew the scene so well. So that matter slept for the present.

In the mean while France had thought fit to accept and approve the King's offer of mediation, that of Sweden being ended by the assembly at Cologne breaking up in expostulations and quarrels upon the Emperor's seizing the person of Prince William of Furstemburg, a subject of the Empire, but an instrument of France, as his brother the Bishop of Strasburg had been in all the late designs and invasions of that Crown upon their neighbours. The King told me, that being resolved to offer his mediation to all the confederates, as he had done already to France, and finding I had no mind to engage in either of these employments which had of late been offered me, he was resolved to send me Ambassador-extraordinary into Holland, to offer his mediation there, as the scene of the confederates common counsels, and by their means to endeavour the acceptance of it by the rest of the Princes concerned in the war: that I knew the place and persons better than any man, and could do him more service, both in this, and continuing all good correspondency between him and the States, which he was resolved to pre-

serve: that I should have the character of Ambassador-extraordinary, and the same allowance I should have had in Spain. Upon this offer I made no demur, but immediately accepted it, and so my embassy was declared in May 1674.

But, to make way to my entering upon this great scene, it will be necessary to deduce, in short, the course of affairs abroad, from the first period of the present war, to this second of his Majesty's separate peace with Holland, and the several dispositions among the parties that were likely to facilitate, or to cross, the design of the King's intended mediation.

No clap of thunder in a fair frosty day could more astonish the world, than our declaration of war against Holland in 1672, first by matter of fact, in falling upon their Smyrna fleet; and, in consequence of that (however it failed), by a formal declaration, in which we gave reasons for our quarrel, while France contented themselves to give no other for their part of it, than only the glory of that King. The Dutch could never be possessed with a belief that we were in earnest till the blow was given; but thought our unkindness and expostulations of late would end at last either in demands of money, or the Prince of Orange's restitution to the authority of his ancestors. The Princes concerned in their safety could not believe, that after having saved Flanders out of the hands of France, we would suffer Holland to fall into the same danger; and my Lord Arlington told me at that time, that the Court of France did not believe it themselves till the blow was struck in the attack of the Smyrna fleet; but then they immediately set out their declaration, and began their invasion. This surprise made way for their prodigious successes. The Dutch had made no provision for their defence, either at home or abroad;

and the Empire, Spain, and Sweden, stood at a gaze upon the opening of the war, not knowing upon what concerts between us and France it was begun, nor how far we would suffer it to go on upon the French conquests. Besides, the animosities of the parties in Holland, long suppressed under their new constitution and De Witt's ministry, began to flame again upon this misfortune of their State. The Prince's friends talked loud and boldly, that there was no way to satisfy England but restoring the Prince; and that the baseness and cowardice of their troops were the effects of turning out all officers of worth and bravery for their inclinations to the Prince, and mean fellows brought in, for no other desert than their enmity declared to the House of Orange. Upon this all men expected a sudden change: the States were in disorder, and irresolute what to do; the troops were without a General, and, which is worse, without heart: and though De Ruiter, by admirable conduct, kept the infection of these evils out of his fleet, which was our part to deal with; yet faction, distrust, sedition, and distraction, made such entrances upon the State and the army, when the French troops first invaded them, that of all the towns and fortresses on the German side (held impregnable in all their former wars), not one besides Maestricht made any show of resistance, and the French became immediately masters of all the inland parts of the provinces, in as little time as travellers usually employ to see and consider them. Maestricht was taken after a short siege, as Schenck-sconce, by the help of an extreme dry season, that made rivers fordable where they had never been esteemed so before. The King of France marched as far as Utrecht, where he fixed his camp and his Court; and from thence began to consider of the ways how to possess himself of the rest, that

was defended only by their situation upon some flat lands, which, as they had, by infinite labour in canals and digues, been either gained or preserved from inundations, so they were subject to them upon opening the sluices, whenever the Dutch found no other way of saving their country but by losing it. This, at least, was generally believed in the French camp and Court, and, as I have heard, was the preservation of the State; for that King, unwilling to venture the honour and advantage of such conquests as he had made that summer, upon the hazards of a new sort of war with a merciless element, where neither conduct nor courage were of use, resolved to leave the rest to practices of peace with the States, upon the advantage of the terms he stood in, and the small distance of place between them; or, if these should not succeed, then he trusted to the frosts of the following winter, which seldom fail in that country to make all passable and safe for troops and carriages themselves, that in summer would be impassable, either from the waters or the depth of soil.

In the mean time, the State and the government of Holland took a new form, and with it a new heart. Monsieur de Witt and his brother had been massacred by the sudden fury of the people at the Hague, and by the fate of Ministers that govern by a party or faction, who are usually sacrificed to the first great misfortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate or inflame the general discontents at home. The fact and the manner having been very unusual, may be the subject of others enquiry, as it was of mine, which gave me this account: The Ruart of Putten, eldest brother to Monsieur de Witt, had been accused of a design upon the Prince's life, and of endeavouring by money to engage one of his Highness's domestics in that attempt; but no other witness appearing, he was sentenced only to be ba-

nished; at which the people shewed great dissatisfaction, being possessed with an opinion of his guilt. The morning he was to come out of prison, Monsieur de Witt (against the opinion of his friends) would needs go himself to bring him out with more honour, and carry him out of town; and to that purpose went with his coach and four horses to the court. This being not usual to this Minister, made the people take more notice of it, and gather together tumultuously, first in the streets where he passed, and then about the court where the prisoner was kept. Some of the trained-bands of the Hague that were upon the guard mingled among them, and began to rail aloud against the judgment of the court, the crime of one brother, and the insolence of the other, who pretended (as they said) to carry him away in triumph. In the midst of this heat and passion, raised by these kind of discourses among the populace, the two brothers came out; some of the trained-bands stopped them, began to treat them at first with ill language, and from words fell to blows; upon which Monsieur de Witt, foreseeing how the tragedy would end, took his brother by the hand, and was at the same time knocked down with the but-end of a musket. They were both presently laid dead upon the place, then dragged about the town by the fury of the people, and torn in pieces. Thus ended one of the greatest lives of any subject in our age, about the 47th year of his own; after having served, or rather administred, that State, as Pensioner of Holland, for about eighteen years, with great honour to his country and himself. After the death of these brothers, the provinces and towns ran with unanimous voices into public demands of the Prince's being restored to the authority of his ancestors. The States had, in the beginning of the year, declared him Captain-general and Admiral

of their forces, which was no more than De Witt had always professed was designed for him when he should be of age; but this was found neither to have satisfied England, nor the Prince's party at home; and therefore all the members of the State agreed in those acts that were thought necessary to a full restitution of his Highness, now at the age of twenty-one years, to the office and power of Stadtholder, with all advantages, and even some more than those which had been exercised by his ancestors. At the same time Monsieur Fagel was introduced into Monsieur de Witt's place, of Pensioner of Holland, whose love to his country made him a lover of the Prince, as believing it could not be saved by any other hand, and whose zeal to his own religion made him an enemy irreconcileable to France, whose professions as well as designs were to destroy it.

This revolution, as it calmed all at home, so it made the first appearance of defending what was left of the country: the State grew united, the army in heart, and foreign Princes began to take confidence in the honour and constancy of the young Prince, which they had in a manner wholly lost upon the divisions and misfortunes of the State. The French themselves turned all their applications and practices the same way, and made the Prince all the offers that could be of honour and advantages to his person and family, provided he would be contented to depend upon them. The bait they thought could not fail of being swallowed, and about which most artifice was employed, was the proposal of making the Prince Sovereign of the provinces, under the protection of England and France. And, to say truth, at a time when so little of the provinces was left, and what remained was under water, and in so imminent danger upon the first frosts of the winter; this seemed a lure

to which a meaner soul than that of this Prince might very well stoop. But his was above it, and his answers always firm, That he never would betray a trust that was given him, nor ever sell the liberties of his country that his ancestors had so long defended. Yet the game he played was then thought so desperate, that one of his nearest servants told me he had long expostulated it with his master; and asked him, at last, how he pretended to live after Holland was lost? and whether he had thought so far? The Prince told him he had, and that he was resolved to live upon the lands he had left in Germany; and that he had rather pass his life in hunting there, than sell his country or his liberty to France at any price. I will say nothing of the embassy sent at this time by his Majesty to the French King at Utrecht, where the three Ambassadors, Duke of Buckingham, Lord Arlington, and Lord Hallifax, found him in his highest exaltation, for I cannot pretend to know what the true ends or subject of it was. The common belief in England and Holland made it to be our jealousy of the French conquests going so fast, whilst ours were so lame; and great hopes were raised in Holland, that it was to stop their course or extent: but these were soon dashed by the return of the Ambassadors, after having renewed and fastened the measures formerly taken between the two Crowns. And the Ambassadors were indeed content, as they passed through Holland, that the first should be thought; which gave occasion for a very good repartee of the Princess Dowager to the Duke of Buckingham, who visited her as they passed through the Hague; and talking much of their being good Hollanders, she told him, that was more than they asked, which was only that they should be good Englishmen: he assured her they were not only so, but good Dutchmen too;

that indeed they did not use Holland like a mistress, but they loved her like a wife: to which she replied, *Vrayment, je croy que vous nous aimez comme vous aimez la vôtre;* [*Truly, I believe you love us as you love your own wife*].

When France had lost all hopes of shaking the Prince of Orange's constancy, they bent all their thoughts upon subduing and ruining the remainder of the country. They had advanced as far as Woerden, and from thence they made their ravages within two or three leagues of Leyden, with more violences and cruelties than would have been prudent, if they had hoped to reclaim the Prince or States from the obstinacy of their defence. The Prince encamped his army near Bodegrave, between Leyden and Woerden, and there made such a stand with a handful of men, as the French could never force. The winter proved not favourable to their hopes and designs, and some promises of frost inveigled them into marches that proved almost fatal to them by a sudden thaw. This frighted them into cautions, perhaps more than were necessary, and gave the Prince and States leisure to take their measures for a following campaign, with the Emperor, Spain, and the Dukes of Brandenburgh and Lunenburgh, which proved a diversion to the arms of France, and turned part of them upon Germany and Flanders, so as to give over the progress any further in Holland. Upon the approach of the winter, the Prince, after having taken Naerden, three leagues from Amsterdam, in spite of all resistance and opposition from either the French or the season, resolved, like another young Scipio, to save his country by abandoning it: and to avoid so many sieges as all the towns they had lost would cost to recover, he contented himself to leave the chief posts guarded with a part of the army, and with

the rest marched into Germany, joined part of the confederate troops, besieged Bonne, which had been put into the hands of France at the beginning of the war, wherein the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster had entered jointly with France. The boldness of this action amazed all men, but the success extolled the prudence as well as the bravery of it; for the Prince took Bonne, and by it opened a passage for the German forces over the Rhine, and so into Flanders; and gave such a damp to the designs and enterprises of France, that they immediately abandoned all their conquests upon Holland in less time than they made them, retaining only Maestricht and the Grave of all they had possessed belonging to this State.

In this posture stood affairs abroad when the peace of England was made in February 1673-4; upon the strength and heart whereof the Prince of Orange concerted with the German and Spanish troops to begin an offensive war, and, at the head of an army of above forty thousand men, to march into France.

The French began now to wish the war well ended, and were very glad to accept his Majesty's mediation. The King was desirous to make France some amends for abandoning the party, and making a separate peace. Some of his Ministers foresaw he would be arbiter of the peace by being mediator, and that he might hinder any separate treaties by mediating a general one, and might restore peace to Christendom whenever he thought fit, and upon what conditions he thought safe and just.

The only difficulties that appeared in this affair, were what the confederates were like to make in accepting the King's mediation, whose late engagements with France had made him thought

very partial on that side. And the house of Austria, finding that Crown now abandoned by England, had too greedily swallowed the hopes of a revenge upon them to desire any sudden treaty, till the successes they expected in the war might at least make way for reducing France to the terms of that of the Pyrenees. This, I suppose, gave some occasion for my being again designed for this embassy, being thought to have some credit with Spain as well as Holland, from the negotiations I had formerly run through at the Hague, Brussels, and Aix la Chapelle, by which the remaining parts of Flanders had been saved out of the hands of France in the year 1668.

But having often reflected upon the unhappy issue of my last public employments, and the fatal turn of counsels in our Court that had occasioned it, against so many wiser men's opinions, as well as my own, I resolved, before I went this journey, to know the ground upon which I stood, as well as I could, and to sound it, by finding out what I was able of the King's true sentiments and dispositions, as to the measures he had now taken, or rather renewed, and trust no more to those of his Ministers, who had deceived either me or themselves. Therefore, at a long audience in his closet, I took occasion to reflect upon the late counsels, and Ministry of the late cabal; how ill his Majesty had been advised to break measures and treaties so solemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been served, and how ill succeeded, by the violent humour of the nation breaking out against such proceedings, and by the jealousies they had raised against the Crown. The King said, It was true he had succeeded ill; but, if he had been well served, he might have made a good business enough of it; and so went on a good deal to justify what was past. I was sorry to find such a pre-

sage of what might again return from such a course of thought in the King, and so went to the bottom of that matter. I shewed how difficult, if not impossible, it was, to set up here the same religion or government that was in France; that the universal bent of the nation was against both; that many, who were perhaps indifferent enough in the matter of religion, considered it could not be changed here but by force of an army; and that the same force which made the King master of their religion, made him master of their liberties and fortunes too: that in France there was none to be considered but the nobles and the clergy: that, if a King could engage them in his designs, he had no more to do; for the peasants, having no land, were as insignificant in the government as the women and children are here: that, on the contrary, the great bulk of land in England lies in the hands of the yeomanry or lower gentry, and their hearts are high by ease and plenty, as those of the French peasantry are wholly dispirited by labour and want: that the Kings of France are very great in possessions of lands, and in dependences by such vast numbers of offices, both military and civil, as well as ecclesiastical; whereas those of England, having few offices to bestow, having parted with their lands, their court of wards and knights services, have no means to raise or keep armies on foot, but by supplies from their Parliaments, nor revenues to maintain any foreign war by other ways: that if they had an army on foot, yet, if composed of English, they would never serve ends that the people hated and feared: that the Roman Catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two-hundredth; and it seemed against all common sense, to think by one part to govern ninety-nine that were of contrary minds and hu-

mours: that for foreign troops, if they were few, they would signify nothing but to raise hatred and discontent; and how to raise, to bring over at once, and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine: that the force seeming necessary to subdue the liberties and spirits of this nation, could not be esteemed less than an army of threescore thousand men, since the Romans were forced to keep twelve legions to that purpose, the Normans to institute sixty-two thousand knights fees, and Cromwell left an army of near eighty thousand men: that I never knew but one foreigner that understood England well, which was Gourville (whom I knew the King esteemed the soundest head of any Frenchman he had ever seen); that when I was at Brussels, in the first Dutch war, and he heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he said, the King had nothing to do but to make the peace: that he had been long enough in England, seen enough of our Court, and people, and Parliaments, to conclude,

*Qu'un Roy d'Angleterre, qui veut être l'homme de son peuple, est le plus grand Roy du monde; mais s'il veut être quelque chose davantage, par Dieu il n'est plus rien.**

The King heard me very attentively, but seemed a little impatient at first: yet at last he said, I had reason in all, and so had Gourville; and, laying his hand upon mine, he added, *Et je veux être l'homme de mon peuple* [*And I will be the man of my people.*]

My embassy-extraordinary to Holland was declared in May, and my dispatches finished at the

* *That a King of England, who will be the man of his people, is the greatest King in the world; but if he will be something more, by G—d he is nothing at all.*

Treasury as well as at the Secretary's office, so as I went away in July. My instructions were, in general, to assure the State of his Majesty's friendship and firm resolution to observe his treaties with them; then to offer his mediation in the present war, which both they and almost all Christendom were engaged in; and, after their acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewise with all their allies; and, to that end, to engage the offices and intervention of the States. But, immediately after my arrival at the Hague, to repair to the Prince of Orange, give him part of his Majesty's intentions in all this affair, and assurance of his kindness, and engage his Highness as far as could be, to second his Majesty's desires in promoting a general peace, wherein the United Provinces seemed to have the greatest interest.

After my arrival at the Hague in July 1674, and delivery of my credentials to the President of the week, and a visit to the Pensioner, wherein I discovered a strong inclination in the States to a peace, as far as their honour and engagements to their allies would allow them, and was assured of the States accepting his Majesty's mediation; I went away to Antwerp, in hopes to have found the Prince at his camp there, between Antwerp and Louvain, where he had lain some time attending the advance of the confederate troops, with whom he had concerted to join his army upon their arrival in Flanders. But two days before I came to Antwerp, the army was marched beyond Louvain; so I was forced to go to Brussels, and there desire a guard to convoy me to the camp. The punctilio's of my character would not suffer me to see the Count de Monterey, though I had for some years lived at Brussels in particular friendship and conversation with him. Few strangers had perhaps ever been better used than I, during three

years residence at Brussels, by all persons of quality, and indeed of all ranks there; so that it was very surprising to me to meet such a dry and cold treatment from the Governor, and such an affectation in the persons of quality, not so much as to visit me; for I do not remember one that did it besides Count d'Emont, who was not then very well at Court, either in Spain or Flanders. Others that I met in the streets, or the park, though they came up with open arms to embrace me, yet never came at me, but contented themselves with saying they intended it. When I sent my secretary to the Count de Monterey with my compliments, and desires of a guard to the Prince of Orange, who was then not above six leagues off; he returned the first very coldly, and the other with excuses that amounted to a refusal: he said, the way was so dangerous, by straggling parties of the army, that he could not advise me to venture with a small guard; and he had drawn out so many of the Spanish troops into the field, that he could not give me a great one. I sent again to desire what he could spare me, let the number be what it would; for though I would not expose the King's character nor his business, by any accident I might prevent; yet, when I had endeavoured it by my application to his Excellence, I would take my fortune, though he sent me but six of his guards. He replied, that he could not possibly spare any of them; but that next morning he expected a troop of horse to come into town, and that, as soon as it arrived, the captain should have order to attend me. Next morning was put off till night, and night till the morning following; when the Count, finding I was resolved to go, though without convoy, rather than to expect longer, sent me a Spanish captain with about forty horse to convoy me to Louvain. The truth was, that the Spaniards

were grown so jealous of his Majesty's mediation offered at the Hague, of the States and people's violent humour to a peace in Holland, and of the offices they thought I might use, to slacken the Prince of Orange in the vigorous prosecution of their present hopes and designs, that I found it was resolved to delay first, and then to hinder absolutely any interview between the Prince and me till the campaign was ended, but to do it with as little ill grace as they could. To this purpose Du Moulin (then one of the Prince's secretaries, and an inveterate enemy against the Court of England) was dispatched between the camp and Brussels, whilst I lay there, and with guards, whereof half would have served my turn, or at least contented me.

When I came to Louvain, I found the Prince was marched towards Tirlemont, but could not learn where his next halt was designed. The Spanish captain told me, he had order to go no further than Louvain: so that I neither knew whither to go, nor could go any way without a guard, as they assured me at Louvain. Whereupon I sent immediately Mr. Bulstrode, who had come with me from Brussels, to endeavour to find out the Prince, and desire him to appoint what time and place I should attend his Highness, which I resolved to do with those few servants I had brought with me, and such others as I could hire at Louvain, where I lay that night.

The next morning Mr. Bulstrode returned with the Prince's answer, that he was upon his march; that he should be very glad to see me, but could not possibly appoint either time or place for it, because his motions were uncertain, and would depend upon the advices he received. By which I found plainly what I had suspected at Brussels, that it was resolved I should not see the Prince

before this campaign was begun by the actions then concerted among the confederates. I would not, however, seem to understand it so, nor any thing more in it than what his Highness was pleased to say; but I knew very well, that as they say none is more deaf than he that will not hear, so a man that will not be seen, may easily find ways of avoiding it, especially upon such circumstances as the Prince and I were then in, who must have followed the motions he would have given me: and therefore I resolved not to expose either his Majesty's character or credit with his nephew, by making that public which had passed between the Prince and me upon this subject; but, pretending my health would not suffer me to follow the Prince upon his march, I returned to Antwerp, and gave his Majesty an account of all that had passed; who extremely approved my conduct in it, and that I pressed no further a point that I saw would not go, and that was taken by the Prince, as well as the Count de Monterey, so differently from what his Majesty expected.

I staid only a night at Antwerp, which passed with so great thunder and lightning that I promised myself a very fair day after it, to go back to Rotterdam in the States yacht that still attended me. The morning proved so; but towards evening the sky grew foul, and the seamen presaged ill weather, and so resolved to lie at anchor before Bergen-op-Zoom, the wind being cross and little. When the night was fallen as black as ever I saw it, it soon began to clear up with the most violent flashes of lightning, as well as cracks of thunder, that I believe have ever been heard in our age and climate. This continued all night, and we felt such a fierce heat from every great flash of lightning, that the captain apprehended it would fire his

ship. But about eight the next morning the wind changed, and came up with so strong a gale that we came to Rotterdam in about four hours, and there found all mouths full of the mischiefs and accidents that the last night's tempest had occasioned, both among the boats and the houses, by the thunder, lightning, hail, or whirlwinds. But the day after came stories to the Hague, from all parts, of such violent effects as were almost incredible. At Amsterdam they were deplorable, many trees torn up by the roots, ships sunk in the harbour, and boats in the canals, houses beaten down; and several people were snatched from the ground as they walked the streets, and thrown into the canals. But all was silenced by the relations from Utrecht, where the great and ancient cathedral was torn in pieces by the violence of this storm; and the vast pillars of stone that supported it were wreathed like a twisted club, having been so strongly composed and cemented, as rather to suffer such a change of figure, than break in pieces as other parts of the fabric did; hardly any church of the town escaped the violence of this storm, and very few houses without the marks of it. Nor were the effects of it less astonishing by the relations from France and Brussels, where the damages were infinite, as well from whirlwinds, thunder, and lightning, as from hailstones of prodigious bigness.

At my return to the Hague I had long conversations with the Pensioner, by which I gained the lights necessary to discover the whole present scene of affairs, and pulses of the several confederates in what related to the general peace. I told him how much his Majesty was satisfied with that he had lately made with the States; how much he was resolved to continue and to cultivate it; how much reason he

had to be content with the posture that had left him in a peace with all his neighbours, while they were all at war: that advantages of commerce from it were enough to make him trouble himself no further about the peace of Christendom, if his goodness and piety did not prevail more with him than his interests; but that these, and the desires of a general good, had persuaded him to offer his mediation in the present quarrels: that it had been already accepted by France; and that the Emperor and Spain had answered, they would consider of it in concert with their allies: that the States Ambassadors at London had assured his Majesty their Masters would be pleased with it, and doubted not their consent that the treaty should be at London; and that thereupon his Majesty had charged me with a letter to the States to offer them his mediation: that I could not doubt their accepting it with the best grace that could be, for I knew their interest was to have a peace, and not to disoblige the King: that if his Majesty were partial to any side, they ought to believe it would be to that wherein his own nephew was so deeply concerned; and the more, because he offered his offices towards a peace at a time when the advantages and preparations for the war ran so high on the French side, as he doubted the events might shew if it continued: that they knew his interest would not suffer him to see Flanders lost; and that, considering what had passed, his honour would not suffer him to think of preserving it any other way than by that of a peace: that he would be glad to see that country left by the next peace in a better posture of defence than it was by the last, and the Spanish territories lie closer and rounder than they were then left: that, when this should be concluded, his Majesty would be ready to enter into the strongest guaranties they could desire, and might with ho-

nour enter into a war to preserve it, though he could not to obtain it. The Pensioner first gave me thanks for my good offices in the late peace, and in all the measures of friendship that had interceded between his Majesty and them since the first breach. He applauded the King's resolution in so pious and generous an offer, and acknowledged his interest might lead him to other dispositions: that he doubted not the States willingness to accept it; all the difference would be about the time and manner of doing it. As to this, he said, they could not do it without the communication at least of their allies; but would immediately give them part of his Majesty's offer, and the States dispositions to receive it: that for the terms of a peace, as to their own parts, they would be content to make his Majesty the arbiter of it: that they had already recovered all the towns they had lost except Grave and Maestricht, the last of which was in some manner engaged to Spain when it should be recovered; and for the other, they doubted not to have a good account of it very soon, orders being already gone to invest it. But he doubted whether their allies would be so easy in their expectations or demands; and that it was impossible for the States to leave them who had saved their country from ruin, when two so great Kings had invaded them, or to break the treaties which they had made offensive with the Emperor, Spain, and Brandenburg: that the terms stipulated with Spain obliged them to reduce France to the treaty of the Pyrenees; but only a reserve was made by one article, which was, unless it should otherwise be agreed by consent between them: that whatever Spain would be content with should satisfy them; though they were both equally sensible of the designs and ambition of France, as well as of their ill talent to the States: that they could

never hope for such another conjuncture, to reduce them to such bounds and measures as might be safe to their neighbours, and give quiet to Christendom: that it was now an ill time to enter into the terms of a peace between France and Spain, because he knew they should have ill grace to demand the restitution of any towns the Spaniards had lost in Flanders by the last war, and given up by the peace that succeeded it; and yet his Majesty knew, as well as they, that without it a peace could neither be safe for Flanders, nor for Holland, nor consequently for England. But he believed there would not pass many days before some decisive action would happen between the armies, now not far distant in the field, which would make room for the negotiation of peace that might succeed next winter, in which his Majesty would find the interests and humours of a trading country, as theirs was, very strong, and disposed to press their allies, as far as was possible, to facilitate so great and so good a work. And for the rest of the allies besides Spain, he had no reason to suspect any great difficulties would arise, so little having yet passed in the war between France and them.

The Pensioner was right in expecting some sudden action between the armies; for about the middle of August came the news of the battle of Seneffe between the confederates under the command of the Prince of Orange, and the French under the Prince of Condé: but it proved not an action so decisive as was expected between two armies of so great force, and so animated by the hatred and revenge of the parties, as well as by the bravery and ambition of the commanders. The success of this fight was so differently reported by those engaged in it, that it was hard to judge of the victory which each side challenged, and perhaps neither with any great reason. The confederates had for

some days sought a battle with great desire and endeavour; and the French avoided it, with resolution not to fight unless upon evident advantage, whilst both armies lay near Nivelle, and not far distant from one another. The reason of this was thought to be, of one side, the ardour of the young Prince of Orange to make way, by a victory, into France itself, and there revenge the invasion of his country; and at the same time to make his first essay of a pitched battle, against so great and renowned a general as the Prince of Condé. On the other side, this old captain had too much honour to lose, and thought he had not enough to gain, by entering the lists with a Prince of three and twenty years old, bred up in the shade of a contrary faction, till he was forced into the field by the French invasion of his country. Nor was the advantage less on the French side in the reputation of their troops, than of their general; composed of excellent officers, chosen soldiers, exactly disciplined, long trained for action before they began it, and now flushed by the uninterrupted successes of two wars. But the Dutch troops, when the Prince of Orange entered upon the command, were old or lazy soldiers, disused with long peace, and disabled with young unskilful officers (chosen by no other merit, than that of a faction against the house of Orange) then filled up when the war broke out, with hasty and undistinguished levies, and disheartened with perpetual losses of towns, and defeats of parties, during the two first campaigns. The Prince of Condé had another restraint upon the usual boldness of his nature on such occasions, which was the ill posture he had been in at Court since the King's reign, and in regard how much more he would have to answer for than another man upon any great misfortune to his army, which must have left the way open for the confederates

to enter France, unguarded on that side by any strong frontier; so as no man knew what shake it might give to the greatness of that Crown, with the help of so great and general discontents, whereof this Prince was thought to have his share.

Upon these dispositions in the Generals the battle was for some time industriously sought and avoided: till the Prince of Orange, believing there was no way of coming to a battle, but by the siege of some place that might be thought worth the venture to relieve, broke up and marched away towards Seneffe; his army divided into three parts, whereof the German troops under the Count de Souches had the van, the Spanish under Prince Vaudemont the rear, and the Dutch under Count Waldeck the main body; with whom the Prince marched, and commanded the whole confederate army.

The Prince of Condé observing their march, which was not far from one side of his retrenchments; and that, by the straitness of some passages they were forced to file off in small lines, staid till the vanguard and main body were over one of these passes, and the rear beginning to enter upon it; when he drew out his men, and fell with great fierceness upon the rear of the Spaniards, broke them with great slaughter, and not much resistance, took their baggage, several standards, and many prisoners of note. The Prince of Orange, upon notice of the French march towards the Spanish troops, had sent three squadrons back to their assistance, with all the diligence that could be; but the Spaniards, already broken, brought the Dutch into disorder by falling in among them; and the French pursuing with great bravery, broke the Dutch squadrons to pieces, killing or taking all their commanders, and several standards.

If the Prince of Condé had contented himself

with this success and execution, he had left no dispute of a victory; but, lured on by the hopes of one more entire, and belief the Dutch, whom he esteemed the worst troops, would not stand after the Spaniards, and a great part of their own, were wholly routed, he followed the chace, and, drawing out his whole army upon them, brought it to a set battle, which was more than he intended. In the mean time the Prince of Orange, marching to the relief of the Spaniards and the squadrons he had sent, was at first enveloped by his own flying men, whom he could neither stop by words nor blows, by promises nor reproaches; till joining the rest of his own forces that stood firm, and the Imperialists coming up to enforce them, the battle began with as great fury as any has been fought in the whole course of the wars, continued so for about eight hours till sun-set, and about two hours after by moon-light, till, that failing too, the fight ended, rather by the obscurity of the night, than the weariness or weakness of either side. The Prince of Orange, in the whole course of this action, gave all orders with such prudence, and observance of all advantages, led up his several squadrons with that bravery, made such bold stands against his own broken troops, as well as against the fierceness of their pursuers, for six hours together, in the hottest of the fire; sometimes charging into the midst of the enemies, sometimes overborne by his own that fled, till he rallied them and led them back to the charge; exposed to more danger than most private soldiers in the field; so that the old Count de Souches, in his letter to the States upon this occasion, told them, that, in the whole course of the action, the Prince had shewed the conduct of an old experienced commander, and the valour of a Cæsar; and indeed his allies, his friends, and his enemies agreed in giving him

equal glory from this adventure. But he had more from none than from the Prince of Condé's testimony, that he had done like an old captain in all, but only in venturing himself too much like a young man. Yet this old general had done the same in this day's action, as much as the youngest cavalier in his army could do, when he found the battle fought so desperately, and all at stake; whereas it is certain, that nothing could have given vigour to the Dutch troops, after the first rout, but the repeated examples and dangers of the Prince, and shame of not following such a leader in all the desperate charges he made that day, which both the generals seemed resolved to die rather than to lose.

As the numbers were not much different when the fight began, so were those esteemed that fell in this battle, and to reach to about six or seven thousand on either side; but, of the French, many more officers and gentlemen than was usual in proportion to the common soldiers. When the night parted the armies, the French retired back to their former quarters, and next morning the confederates marched to that which they designed when they broke up the day before. The allies claimed the victory, because they were last upon the field; and the French, upon carrying away the greatest number of prisoners and standards: but whoever had the honour, they both felt the loss.

After the repair necessary in each camp upon this sharp encounter, each army took the field again, and gave a general expectation of another battle before the campaign ended: the Prince of Orange sought it all he could; but the Prince of Condé chose and fortified his encampments so, as not to be forced to one without apparent disadvantages, and contented himself to observe the motions of the allies, to preserve the towns of the French conquests in Flanders, and prevent any in-

vasion of France, which was designed this summer with great confidence by the confederate armies, both on this side and that in Alsace, but with equal disappointment; unless it were to Monsieur Staremburg, who, in the beginning of the campaign, complaining of the wine at the Prince's table, the Prince told them he would make them drink good wine in Champagne before the summer ended. He, who loved it well, desired the Prince to be as good as his word; was afterwards taken at the battle of Seneffe, and carried to Rheims, with several Dutch officers; where, sitting down to dinner, and finding the wine excellent, he drank the Prince's health, and said he would trust him as long as he lived, for he had kept his word, and made them drink good wine in Champagne.

The Prince of Orange finding no other way of action, sat down before Oudenarde in September, and had his end of drawing the Prince of Condé out of his cautious marches, who came immediately to relieve it, and fight the allies before they were ready to give an assault to the town. Upon sight of the French army, the Prince of Orange called a council of war, and proposed to draw out and attack them immediately, before they were rested after their hard day's march. The Spaniards were content, but Count Souches would not agree to it; and so this occasion was lost, and with such discontent among the chief officers, that next day the Germans left the trenches, and marched away about a league, and left room to the French to put what relief they pleased into the town. Upon this the Prince of Orange was forced to rise too, with the rest of his army; and upon conferences with the Count de Monterey, as well as Souches, resolved to leave the greatest part of the Dutch forces with the Count, and with the rest to go himself and press the siege of Grave. And

here began those dissentions among the chief captains of the confederates, that continued to ruin their designs, and proved so fatal to them in the whole course of the war; and, against all appearances, made good the Spanish proverb, that *liga nunca coje grandes paxaros* [birdlime never catches great birds], the same word signifying a league and birdlime, and meaning, that as this never catches great birds, so the other never makes great conquests, though it often does great defences: yet these first divisions were endeavoured to be cured, by the Emperor's recalling the Count de Souches, and Spain the Count de Monterey, who were both thought to have maimed the actions of this campaign, or, at least, not to have seconded, as they might have done, the Prince of Orange's vigour, in pursuing them to other sorts of successes than it ended with. This Prince, having failed of what he proposed in favour of the Spaniards, was resolved to free his own country from the last mark of their intended servitude before this season ended. Grave was the last town the French held in any of the Seven Provinces, and had been kept as a magazine both of what had been taken in the other places, and was not easily carried away when they quitted them; so as there was above three hundred pieces of cannon in the town, a very full and brave garrison, composed of the best troops, and all that could be added to the fortifications of the place, after the French took it, though it was before counted one of the best the Dutch had. It had been invested a month before, yet the Prince found the siege but little advanced at his arrival; and the Dutch soldiers so rebutted with the brave defence from within, that nothing could have carried the place at this season, being about the middle of October when the Prince arrived, but the same humour of leading on his men himself

whenever they shrunk, which can never be too much praised nor too much blamed in this Prince; because, as his country and allies would have had no general if they had lost him, so they would have had no army if they had not ventured him. In short, by this and his usual application and vigour, as well as the common methods of such sieges, he took Grave by the end of October, with equal glory to himself, and satisfaction to all the provinces; and returned to the Hague about the middle of November, after having disposed his forces in their winter-quarters.

With the Prince of Orange returned most of the general officers to the Hague, and among the rest old Prince Maurice of Nassau, who, as the Prince told me, had, with the greatest industry that could be, sought all occasions of dying fairly at the battle of Seneffe, without succeeding, which had given him great regrets; and I did not wonder at it, considering his age, of about seventy-six, and his long habits both of gout and stone. When he came to visit me upon his return, and before he went to his government of Cleve, it came in my head to ask him an idle question, because I thought it not very likely for me to see him again, and I had a mind to know, from his own mouth, the account of a common, but much credited story, that I had heard so often from many others, of an old parrot he had in Brasil, during his government there, that spoke, and asked, and answered common questions like a reasonable creature; so that those of his train there generally concluded it to be witchery or possession; and one of his chaplains, who lived long afterwards in Holland, would never from that time endure a parrot, but said, they all had a devil in them. I had heard many particulars of this story, and assured by people hard to be discredited, which made me ask Prince

Maurice what there was in it? He said, with his usual plainness and dryness in talk, there was something true, but a great deal false of what had been reported. I desired to know of him what there was of the first? He told me short and coldly, that he had heard of such an old parrot when he came to Brasil; and though he believed nothing of it, and it was a good way off, he had so much curiosity as to send for it: that it was a very large and a very old one; and when it came first into the room where the Prince was, with a great many Dutchmen about him, it said presently, What a company of white men are here? They asked it what he thought that man was, pointing at the Prince? it answered, Some general or other. When they brought it close to him, he asked it, *D'ou venez vous?* [whence come you]? it answered, De Maragnan [from Maragnan]. The Prince, *A qui estes vous?* [To whom do you belong]? The parrot, *A un Portugais.* [To a Portuguese]. The Prince, *Que fais-tu là?* [What do you there?] The parrot, *Je garde les poulets.* [I look after the chickens]. The Prince laughed, and said, *Vous gardez les poulets?* [You look after the chickens]? The parrot answered, *Ouy, moy, & je le scay bien faire;* [Yes I, and I know how to do it well]; and made the chuck four or five times that people use to make to chickens when they call them. I set down the words of this worthy dialogue in French, just as Prince Maurice said them to me. I asked him in what language the parrot spoke? and he said, In Brasilian. I asked whether he understood Brasilian? he said, No; but he had taken care to have two interpreters by him, one a Dutchman that spoke Brasilian, and the other a Brasilian that spoke Dutch. That he asked them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same thing

that the parrot said. I could not but tell this odd story, because it is so much out of the way, and from the first hand, and what may pass for a good one; for I dare say this Prince at least believed himself all he told me, having ever passed for a very honest and pious man. I leave it to naturalists to reason, and to other men to believe as they please upon it: however, it is not perhaps amiss to relieve or enliven a busy scene sometimes with such digressions, whether to the purpose or not.

Before I enter upon the negotiations of the following winter, it will be necessary to give a short view of the actions of the several armies, and dispositions of the parties, in other places as well as in the Low-Countries, since all contributed to the different humours that appeared at the Hague about the peace, which was indeed the present scene of that affair, as well from his Majesty's mediation, as the great weight of the States in the Confederacy; but chiefly from the person of the Prince of Orange, who seemed to be the spirit or genius of the whole alliance, and for whom the rest, as well as the States themselves, had so great trust and deference: for several of their Ministers made no difficulty to tell me, upon many occasions, that their Masters would not have entered into the present engagements they were in, had it not been more upon the confidence they had of the Prince's personal honour and justice, than either the forces or the usual conduct of the States General, especially in what concerned the foreign treaties and negotiations.

In Rousillon little passed of importance between the forces there: the thoughts of both Crowns were bent, on that side, more upon reducing or relieving Messina, that had made an absolute revolt from Spain, and endeavoured to gain protec-

tion from France, which was not difficult in this conjuncture, as that which might not only give a great diversion to the Spanish forces, but open a way for the French into the conquest of Sicily, and new designs upon Naples, which had been the stage of so many great wars between the houses of France and Arragon.

In Germany the Prince-Electors Palatine, Mentz, and Triers, had entered into league with the Emperor for the defence of the German liberty against all strangers. France was so enraged against the Elector Palatine upon these measures he had taken, that Mons. Turenne, at the head of a French army, marched into his country, and made such cruel ravages in it, and so unusual to that general's common procedures, that the Elector sent him a challenge; which Mons. Turenne answered he could not accept without his Master's leave, but was ready to meet him in the field at the head of his army, against any that he and his new allies would bring together.

This Prince, spited at the helpless ruin of his country, proved the greatest incentive among the German Princes this summer to join their forces, in order to some vigorous action against France on that side. The Duke of Lunenburg engaged first, and afterwards the Elector of Brandenburg, in the common cause of the Empire's being invaded. Strasburg was prevailed with to throw off the neutrality they had enjoyed since the war began, and declare for the Empire in this quarrel. The new Bishop of Munster entered into the same measures, and all together made a considerable force that they brought into the field, on the other side the Rhine, about the end of August or beginning of September. The old Duke of Lorrain joined them with his troops: the Duke of Lunenburg was there in person; and the Elector Palatine had the com-

mand of the army. They were divided, as well as the Imperial officers, whether they should enter upon any considerable action or no till the Duke of Brandenburg came up, who was upon his march at the head of a very considerable army, that joined the confederates in October. This gave great hopes and designs of entering either Lorrain or Burgundy, or taking Brisac, or at least Zaberne and Haguenau, and thereby securing their winter-quarters in Alsace. Monsieur Turenne played a defensive game, with a small army, and ill handled by the sickness of the season. France was at such a pinch for men, or fear of an irruption into their country from Flanders or Alsace, that they called their *ban* and *arriere ban*, the assembling whereof had been long disused, and in a manner antiquated. However, with some of these new troops, and a reinforcement from Flanders after the battle of Seneffe, Monsieur Turenne, by plain force of skill, and that admirable science in the conduct of war, which no captain of his age could dispute with him, prevented and disappointed every one of the confederates designs, without ever coming to a set battle, though not without several sharp fights of part of the forces, upon necessity or advantage: so that the winter ended with the allies quitting the last point they pretended, and would have been indeed decisive in the issue of this campaign, which was the German army's quartering in Alsace, and other parts on that side the Rhine.

The most considerable loss or event of this campaign upon the Rhine was the death of the young Prince of Brandenburg, who died about the end of it at Strasburg, of a fever so violent and precipitate, as gave occasion for the usual suspicions and discourses that attend the death of such young Princes as give great hopes and fears to their enemies and friends. This was the more considered,

for a particular and intimate friendship between him and the Prince of Orange, who, though cousin-germans, and engaged in one common cause, were yet nearer joined by likeness of humours than of interest, and by the ties of personal kindness than of blood; and I never knew the Prince of Orange more sensible of any misfortune that happened to him than of this.

In all the encounters mentioned on this side, no forces were oftener seen or more felt, or gained more honour for their firmness and bravery, than the English regiments still remaining in the French service, to whom the Germans attributed wholly Monsieur Turenne's successes, as he did a great deal himself. But the divisions among the Princes that made up the confederate armies may justly be said to have had all the merit that was not personal in Monsieur Turenne; who was certainly allowed by all that compared them to be the greatest Captain by much of his age, in the course of a war or conduct of a campaign; though the Prince of Condé was thought greater in a day of battle, both as to the disposal and order of an army, vigorous enterprize, and sharp, as well as pertinent resolutions upon all sudden emergencies, to which the course and chance of a battle is every way subject.

For Sweden and Denmark, they were not yet entered into the lists, but seemed now upon the point of taking party. Sweden had acted the part of a mediator ever since the breaking up of the treaty at Cologne, both by their Ambassador at Vienna and at the Hague, who plied both these Courts with very long and frequent memorials to that purpose during this whole summer; but they had been as hard plied themselves all that time by the practices and advantages offered by France, both to that Crown and the chief Ministers, to en-

gage them in the war. Nothing seemed so likely to determine them, as the treaty and expedition of the Duke of Brandenburg on the confederate side, which laid open his country to the invasion of Sweden, and gave them a pretence of a breach, in that Prince, of the treaties between them, in making war against France without the consent of the Swedes. Therefore, as soon as he was gone towards the Rhine with all the strength of his forces, the Swedes drew the best and greatest part of theirs into Pomerania; and as the Duke of Brandenburg advanced in the common designs against France, so Sweden, without declaring war, pursued their measures with that Crown, and before the end of the year had drawn their forces into the Brandenburg country, though without attempt upon any places, and even with pretence at first of paying for their quarters, which was reckoned upon as short-lived among soldiers in another Prince's country, whether friend or enemy. The present effect of this inroad was the ending of another pretence of that Crown, which was that of mediation, and so devolving that figure wholly upon his Majesty; and on the other side giving hopes to the confederates of engaging Denmark on their side, if, for no other reason, yet upon that old one among them, of being always opposite to Sweden, and their interest or allies.

As soon as the Prince came to the Hague I attended him, and, after compliments passed, I acquainted him with what his Majesty had commanded me of his personal kindness and esteem for his Highness; of his resolutions to observe and cultivate his present friendship with the States, and desire to see a general peace restored to Christendom, in which he intended to act wholly in concert with his Highness, whose opinion as to the thing, and the conditions most necessary for his Highness to

insist on, he very much desired to understand as soon and as fully as he could. The Prince answered me with expressions of duty and kindness to his Majesty, and desires of a near conjunction between the two nations, which he thought alone could make his Majesty safe at home and abroad. For the peace, he said, though he could make many complaints of the conduct both of the Spaniards and Imperialists since their treaties; yet the States could not, with any faith or honour, make a separate peace, upon any terms that France could offer them: that a general peace could not be made without leaving Flanders in a posture of defending itself upon any new or sudden invasion, against which no guaranties could secure it: that Spain could not, upon any exchange, quit the country of Burgundy, or Cambray, nor any thing in Flanders, beyond the treaty of the Pyrenees, unless it were Aire and St. Omer. This, he said, was his opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all consistent with the safety of his country, and his own honour towards his allies, he would do all he could to bring it about, as he had already done the point of his Majesty's mediation, which was accepted both at Madrid and Vienna. I told him, that the King, having been the author and guarantee of the peace at Aix, and not having yet seen the French beaten out of any town that was given them by that treaty, could with ill grace propose any thing to France beyond those terms, unless it were upon some equivalent. He replied resolutely, It were better going on with the war, let it last as long and cost as much as it would: that his Majesty might, if he pleased, induce France to whatever he thought just; and could never shew him so much kindness, as to bring him out of this war with honour: if he would not, it must go on till some change happened in the condition of the

parties, to make the peace more necessary on one side or other: how it would fall out he could not tell, and must leave it to God, but he thought they had as fair a game as the French: that he was sure they might have been absolutely beaten at Seneffe, if the Count de Souches had so pleased, and have had a fair blow for it again at Oudenarde: that he was sure Germany could furnish more and better men than France, and they were now in a manner united in the common defence; and he hoped the Emperor's counsels and conduct would not be so betrayed as they had been: that, however, he must perform what his own honour, as well as that of the States, was engaged in to their allies, let it cost what it would.

I imagined in what he said of the Emperor's counsels, he reflected upon the business of Prince Lakowitz, whose disgrace made so great noise about this time, and with particulars so extraordinary of the French practices in that Court, that they were very hard to believe, and very uncertain to know at that distance, and even at Vienna itself; and therefore I would not enter into them with the Prince, nor shall I here, as being foreign to this present scene.

There was one point more I entered into with the Prince, which was upon occasion of the many discontented persons in England, at the course of the last Ministry and war, who were suspected to have trinkled, at least with Holland, about raising seditions, and perhaps insurrections in England, if the war continued, and the Dutch fleets should appear upon our coasts, which were like to be unguarded the next summer, by the straits his Majesty was in for money to set out a fleet. It was believed, among many others, my Lord Shaftsbury was one that had of late played this game; who, having been as deep as any man in the counsels of

the Cabal, and gone so far in the public applause of them, as, in a speech in Parliament, to have applied the *delenda Carthago* [Carthage must be destroyed] to our interest in the destruction of Holland; yet when he saw the Parliament and nation sullen upon it, and that the King could not pursue it with so much ill humour in both, he turned short upon the Court and the rest of the Cabal, fell in with the popular humour in the city, as well as Parliament, decried the present designs and conduct, though with the loss of his Chancellor's place, and was believed to manage a practice in Holland for some insurrection here. I told the Prince what the King suspected of some of his subjects, without naming any; how much service it would be to his Majesty to know them more certainly, and how kind it would be in his Highness to discover them. The Prince was stanch, and said, he was sure the King would not press him upon a thing so much against all honour, as to betray men that professed to be his friends. I gave his Majesty an account of all that passed between the Prince and me, which was thought at Court both cold to his Majesty, and stiff as to the peace; and I had no returns or orders upon it; but within a week or ten days I had notice, that my Lord Arlington and my Lord Ossory intended to make a turn into Holland, with Monsieur Odyke and his two sisters, to make a visit to their friends at the Hague; and, about the beginning of December, they arrived in the King's yachts, but without any sort of character, or show of business.

My Lord Arlington brought me a letter from the King, written all with his own hand; and telling me he had sent him to set right some important points between his Majesty and the Prince, which ought not to lie longer in doubt; recommending to me all the assistance I could give him, and as

suring me of his Majesty's confidence and kindness. His Lordship brought the most ample credential likewise that could be, from his Majesty to the Prince, who still gave me part of all that passed between them, with as much openness and freedom as the other did with coldness and reserve; and thereby lent me many lights that I could not otherwise have had, to discover the mystery of this journey and affair, which was, in great part, a secret to my Lord Treasurer himself, whom yet his Majesty was thought to trust at that time, as much as he had ever done any of his Ministers.

My Lord Arlington, who had been at the head of those measures that the King entered into, during the ministry of the Cabal and the war with Holland, in conjunction with France, found himself something discredited with his Master, upon the ill issue of that affair, and the necessities which forced him to a separate peace, both from the wants of his Treasury, and discontents of his Parliament and people in general. By the degrees this Lord's favour declined, the Earl of Danby's increased, who succeeded my Lord Clifford in the Treasury, which had ever been my Lord Arlington's ambition. This gave him an implacable envy and hatred against my Lord Danby; which no offices of friendship could ever allay. He was not well with the nation for having had such a part in breaking the course of the triple alliance, and making that with France for the ruin of Holland, and, as was commonly thought, for some ends more displeasing at home. Yet, when the ill humour of the Parliament had broken the designs of the Cabal, and made my Lord Shaftsbury shift his sails, and fall into the popular stream, my Lord Arlington had gone so far upon the same scent, as to join with the Duke of Ormond and Secretary Coventry, to persuade the King to remove the Duke wholly

from Court and public business, as a means to appease the discontents of the Parliament upon some jealousies the late conduct of affairs had raised among them. By this counsel my Lord Arlington had very much offended the Duke; and, finding himself ill with his Royal Highness, with the Parliament, and every day declining in credit with the King, he thought there was no way of retrieving his game, but by making himself the instrument of some secret and close measures that might be taken between the King and the Prince of Orange. He first infused into his Majesty the necessity and advantage of such a negotiation, and then that of his being employed in it, from the interest his Lady's friends and kindred in Holland would be able to give him, as well as from the credit of having been so long in the secret of the King's affairs, and so best able to give them such colours as might render the late conduct of them less disagreeable to the Prince. Though he professed great friendship to me, yet he represented me as unlikely to be treated with such a confidence from the Prince as was requisite in this affair, for having been so intimate with Monsieur de Witt, in my former embassy; and gave the Prince's unwillingness to see me during the campaign, as a testimony of his dislike or at least indifferency to me. He proposed going over with all the auxiliaries that were like to be of any succour in this expedition, carrying not only my Lady Arlington, but Madam Beverwaert her sister, who had something in her humour and conversation very agreeable to the Prince; Sir Gabriel Sylvius, who took himself to be in great credit in that Court, where he had served long, and particularly with Monsieur Bentinck; nor was it forgot to carry over Dr. Durel, as a man fit to practise Monsieur de Marast, a French Minister, who was thought to have credit with the Prince;

and my Lord Ossory was known to have a great part in his kindness and esteem, as well from his marriage into the Beverwaert family, as from his bravery, so much applauded in all actions where he had been, which was a quality loved by the Prince, though employed against him.

My Lord Danby had been made to believe, that a letter from the Prince to Monsieur Odyke, then one of the Dutch Ambassadors in England, had given occasion for this journey, as if the Prince had desired some person there from the King, with whom he might enter into the last confidence; but the Prince assured me there was no such thing, and that Monsieur de Ruvigny, the French Minister at London, had more part in this journey than he, or perhaps any body else; and that all the endeavours, used towards a peace, came from that side.

However instructed, at least thus accompanied, my Lord Arlington came to the Hague; where he told me, at our first meeting, that he came over to set right some things between the King and the Prince, that he doubted were amiss; and to settle a perfect kindness and confidence between them for the time to come: that to do this he must go to the bottom of the sore, and rake into things past, which was an unpleasant work, and which I could not do, as having no part in the King's business during that time wherein the Prince took his offence at our counsels: that the King had chosen him for this office, because he could best justify his Majesty's intentions towards his Highness, in the whole course of that affair: that for the peace, though his Majesty desired it, yet he would not meddle in it, unless the Prince of himself made any overtures about it, but would only endeavour to give the Prince what lights he could, as to the state of things in general, and what he might hope

from his allies, as well as from France: that, if the Prince made no advances to him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it in my hands, to be pursued by the orders I should receive: that he knew very well, such a commission as his might look unkind, if not injurious, to another Ambassador, and that he would not have come if any other had been here; but the King, as well as he, reckoned so far upon the friendship between us, that they were both confident of my being easy in it, and giving him any assistance he should want from me, which he would acquaint me with as the matter proceeded. He said besides, That, after having fought the King's battle with the Prince, he must fight another of his own, who did not deserve the coldness his Highness had of late expressed to him; and when this was done, all his business was ended here, and the rest would be only seeing his friends, and finding some diversions from a new scene: that he desired I would, according to the forms, bring him and my Lord Ossory, the first time, to the Prince, and after that they would see him no more in ceremony, nor give me that trouble.

I told his Lordship I was very glad to see him, let his business be what it would: that I should be gladder yet that the King's business should be done, let it be by whom it would, but much more that it might be by him: that for setting matters right between the King and the Prince, I thought it the best office could be done them both: that for the way he mentioned of raking into the sore, and fighting battles in defence or justification of what was past, I knew not what to say to it, but would leave it to his own prudence; but from what I knew in particular, of the Prince's humour and thoughts, whatever he did of that sort, I believed, should be very gentle, and not go too deep; and, for my own part, was always of opinion, that

expostulations were very apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends: that I would send to the Prince for an hour; and, when I had brought him to his Highness, I would leave him there after the first entrances were past, and desired no other part in this affair, than what he thought necessary to give me; whenever he did, I should serve him the best I could, in so good an endeavour; and for the rest, I should leave the field free to my Lord Ossory and him, while they staid at the Hague, as to all that was secret: as to the rest, I desired they would make what use they pleased of me and my house.

My Lord Arlington took all I said very well; said, it was not necessary I should leave them, after I had introduced them to the Prince, but in such a manner as I saw he would not dislike it, or have any body thought to have any part in the successes he expected: so next morning I brought them to the Prince, and, after a quarter of an hour's stay, left them together. The Prince would have had me stay, but my Lord Arlington said not a word; and I pretended some letters pressed me, and so went away, and never saw them together any more while they staid at the Hague, unless at dinner, or in mixed and public company.

The truth is, I was not the worse entertained, during the course of this adventure; for my Lord Arlington told me every day what he thought fit, of all that passed between them; and the Prince told me, not only the thing, but the manner of it, which was more important than the matter itself; for this had no effect, but the other a great deal, and that lasted long. My Lord Arlington told me much of his expostulations, and with what good turns of wit he had justified both the King's part in the late war, and his own; but that upon all he found the Prince dry and sullen, or, at the best,

uneasy, and as if he wished it ended: that upon discourse of the state of Christendom, and what related to the war he was engaged in, he made him no overtures at all, nor entered further, than that the King might bring him out of it with honour if he pleased, and with safety to Christendom; if not, it must go on till the fortunes of the parties changing, made way for other thoughts, than he believed either of them had at this time: that this might happen after another campaign, which none but his Majesty could prevent, by inducing France to such terms as he thought just and safe for the rest of Christendom.

This was the sum of what my Lord Arlington pretended to have passed in three long conferences; after which it grew so uneasy between them, that he told me he had absolutely given it over, and would not say a word more of business while he was there, and attended his Majesty's orders, after the return of his dispatches, but would divert himself in the mean time as well as he could, see the Prince as often as he pleased at dinner, or in company, but ask it no more in private, unless the Prince, of himself, desired it; and, upon the whole, gave all the signs of being equally disappointed and discontented with the success of this undertaking.

The Prince, on the other side, told me with what arrogance and insolence my Lord Arlington had entered upon all his expostulations with him, both upon the King's chapter and his own: that it was not only in the discourses of it, as if he pretended to deal with a child, that he could by his wit make believe what he pleased; but in the manner he said all upon that subject, it was as if he had taken himself for the Prince of Orange, and him for my Lord Arlington: that all he said was so artificial, and giving such false colours to things every body

knew, that he that was a plain man could not bear it, and was never so weary of any conversation in his life. In short, all the Prince told me upon it looked spited at my Lord Arlington, and not very much satisfied with the King's intentions upon this errand; though he said he was sure his Majesty never intended he should treat it in the manner he had, if he remembered that he was his nephew, though nothing else.

After the first conversations, my Lord Arlington staid near six weeks in Holland, either upon contrary winds to return his dispatches, or to carry him away, often at dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count Waldeck's, or Monsieur Odyke's, or with me putting on the best humour and countenance, affecting the figure of one that had nothing of business in his head, or in the design of his journey, but at heart weary of his stay in Holland, and unwilling to return with no better account of his errand; and, as it proved, he had reason for both.

I found the Pensioner and Count Waldeck thought that the bent of my Lord Arlington was to draw the Prince into such measures of a peace as France then so much desired; into a discovery of those persons who had made advances to the Prince or the States of raising commotions in England during the late war; into secret measures with the King of assisting him against any rebels at home, as well as enemies abroad; and into the hopes or designs of a match with the Duke's eldest daughter: though they said he found the Prince would not enter at all into the first, was obstinate against the second, treated the third as a disrespect to the King, to think he could be so ill beloved, or so imprudent, to need it; and, upon mention made of the last by my Lord Ossory, he took no further hold of it than saying, his fortunes were not in a condition for him to think of a wife.

Thus ended this mystical journey, which I have the rather unveiled, because, perhaps, no other could do it; nor I, without so many several lights from so many several hands; and because, though it brought forth no present fruits, yet seeds were then scattered, out of which sprung afterwards some very great events.

My Lord Arlington returned, was received but coldly by the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that any mention had been made of the Lady Mary, though it was done only by my Lord Ossory, and whether with order from the King, or no, was not known: so as never any strain of Court skill and contrivance succeeded so unfortunately as this had done, and so contrary to all the ends the author of it proposed to himself. Instead of advancing the peace, he left it desperate; instead of establishing a confidence between the King and the Prince, he left all colder than he found it; instead of entering into great personal confidence and friendship with the Prince, he left an unkindness that lasted ever after; instead of retrieving his own credit at Court, which he found waning upon the increase of my Lord Danby's, he made an end of all he had left with the King, who never after used him with any confidence further than the forms of his place; and found my Lord Treasurer's credit with the King more advanced in six weeks he had been away, than it had done in many months before.

Whatever was the occasion, France had this winter an extreme desire of a peace; and left no ways unattempted to obtain it, that might not too much discover the need they had of it. I suppose they might apprehend what the confederates reckoned upon, with perhaps too much assurance; that, if they could gain one battle, they should certainly enter France; and, if ever they did, the

ill humours grown under this late government would certainly break out, and make way for all the successes and ravages they proposed to themselves; or, at least, for such terms of a peace as would leave all the neighbours of that Crown in safety and at quiet. A talk was set on foot of a marriage between Monsieur's eldest daughter and the King of Spain, in the heat of the war: a suspension of arms was proposed at Vienna by Count Oxenstiern the Swedish Ambassador; and the sending Plenipotentiaries immediately after to treat the peace, with offers, in case this were agreed to, that the affair of Prince William of Furstemburg should be respited till the end of the treaty, and passports should be granted for the Duke of Lorrain's Ministers, upon which difficulties had been made: practices were used with the Princes of Brandenburg and Lunenburg, to disjoin them from the common alliance, and a particular intelligence was held between the Marshal d'Estrades and one who had been Pensioner of Maestricht, who communicated all his letters to the Pensioner Fagel: but the sum of all was instances for a separate peace between France and Holland; a breach of their measures with the House of Austria, and return of the old ones with France, towards which they offered all the advantages that could be to the States in point of commerce, and all the personal ones that could be desired by a Prince of Orange.

But the Prince was unmoveable in the point of not leaving his allies; though he began to foresee he was like to play a hard game with them next summer in the field, and perhaps a harder with the people at home, who grew impatient for a peace, both upon the cruel taxes the war had raised, and upon the present decay of trade, as well as apprehension, that, with longer continuance of the war, it would run so far into a new channel by England

as never to be retrieved. Upon these considerations the Prince resolved to make one effort towards a peace with honour before this season ended, and made all further thoughts of it give way to the actions of the approaching campaign. His scheme was this, That a match should be made between the King of Spain and Mademoiselle: that France should give with her in dowry the late conquered places in Flanders; that the King should make this match, and upon these terms; and that he should have two hundred thousand pounds for his good offices in it. By this means a peace would be made with safety to Spain and to Holland, by securing again the frontiers of Flanders; with honour to France, who parted with the conquered towns only as dowry to a daughter of France; without any blemish to the Prince's honour or faith in his alliances; and with honour and profit both to his Majesty, which last was thought no unwelcome circumstance at that time in our Court.

This the Prince and Pensioner having digested the best way they could, and deduced to me, desired me to propose to the King, as the only way of making the peace he so much desired; as a thing they were sure he could do, and that France could not deny him if he would press it; and as the last degree of favour his Majesty could express to the Prince, who could no other way come out of this war with honour. They desired me to write it to the King himself, and that nothing might be said of it to any other person, till his Majesty should return me his opinion upon it.

I did so by two letters to the King, but had no hopes given me that it would be effected: whether France took the desires of the Prince for an argument of his being weary of the war, or that he found the people were so; or whether they would not end the war, without breaking the force and

confidence of the present alliance, or (as the Prince thought) without leaving Flanders open for another invasion, when some better conjuncture should make way for it; or whether the revolt of Messina had given them hopes of disabling Spain, by drawing their forces on that side, and disposing them to a peace by this wound in a part so tender, and that might spread so far into Italy; or whether they had now absolutely engaged the Crown of Sweden to enter into the war, and believed that, by the impression that Crown would make in Pomerania, they might not only recal the Duke of Brandenburg and his forces from the Rhine, but, if they succeeded, might so alarm the Empire on that side, as to break, or very much weaken any conjunction of their forces next summer on this side the Rhine. However it was, this attempt of the Prince failed, and so all further thoughts of a present peace ended, and left me only to pursue the cold scent of a mediation in the common forms, while the preparations were making on all sides for a warm summer in the field.

The Prince this February went into Guelderland, to establish the new magistracy there, according to his office of Stadtholder. Whilst he was there, the deputies of that province, by unanimous consent, made him an offer of the sovereignty of that country, with the ancient title of Duke of Guelderland, which they pretended had been formerly in some of his ancestors. The Prince said, he would give them no answer upon an affair of such moment without first advising with the other provinces. He immediately writ to those of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, to communicate this offer to them, and demand their advice upon it. Zealand returned theirs against his accepting it; grounding it upon the jealousies it might raise in the other provinces, and inconsistence of it with

the constitutions of their union, which left none of the provinces at liberty to dispose of their sovereignty without consent of the rest. Utrecht returned their answer with advice to accept it. Holland was longer depending, upon the delays necessary in running the circle of so many towns: so that, before it was concluded, the Prince, upon receiving the advice of Utrecht, returned them immediately his answer, with notice, that he had excused himself to the States of Guelderland, from accepting the offer they had made him.

Nothing could more employ the busy heads of this time, than the course of this affair; some attributing it to the ambition of the Prince, and presaging the same design upon the rest of the provinces; others laying it to the charge of some of his young counsellors; others to a design of sounding the humour of the provinces, and of having the honour to refuse it, after they should all have advised him to accept it, as it was believed they would do. For my own part, I can say nothing of it with certainty, having never seen the Prince while it was upon the anvil, nor discoursed with him upon this subject either before or after: but if it were an ambition bent upon the sovereignty of the rest of the provinces, as well as Guelderland, it was a design very different from all his proceedings in the course of the war, when France had proposed it to him with all the advantages and support that could be; and as different from what he had ever seemed to understand, and to be as much persuaded of as any man, That a sovereign Prince in Holland would certainly and soon ruin the trade, and consequently the riches and greatness, of that State, and leave a Prince of it without power or consideration in the world; whereas the Princes of Orange, in the post they have held for four generations, have entered into wars and

treaties with a regard and weight equal to most of the Kings of Christendom. For young counsellors that were thought to have engaged the Prince in this adventure, I cannot speak with more certainty than of the intention; but I am sure, if they were in it, they were not alone; for none doubts of Monsieur Fagel's having been for it; and Monsieur Beverning, who was ever thought as stanch a patriot as any man among them, told me himself, that he had advised the Prince to accept of it; which I believe he would not have done, if he had foreseen any danger from it to his country. But whether the Prince or his friends had the part that was commonly thought in the first overture, it is certain an interest of the deputies and magistrates, as well as nobles, of Guelderland had a share in it too. For whereas this is the first province in the union, and abounds with nobles more than all the rest; yet, by reason of their poverty from a barren soil, and want of trade, they are less considered than several other provinces, and their voice has been in a manner swallowed up by that of Holland, who, by their trade and riches, have a great influence upon those of Guelderland. The deputies of this province finding themselves yet less considerable in the union than they were before the war, which had extremely impoverished their country during the French conquests, thought there was no way of recovering such a consideration in the State, as suited with the rank and dignity they held, but devolving the sovereignty of their province upon the Prince of Orange. Besides, many of the nobles there, having pretences for themselves or their friends in the military employments, thought to make their court to the Prince, upon whom those charges depended, by advancing such a proposition: and this was certainly a great ingredient into the first conception of it;

but whether connived at, or seconded by the Prince or his friends, or with what aims or instructions, I cannot say; and so leave it as a mushroom that grew up suddenly, and as suddenly withered, and left no sign where it had grown.

At the Prince's return to the Hague in March 1675, I received a letter from his Majesty's own hand, telling me of some advices given him, That the Prince intended to come over into England against the approaching session of parliament; and commanding me to hinder it, as if his Majesty believed the thing. I adventured to assure the King there could be nothing of it before I saw the Prince, but when I did, I pretended not to have had it from his Majesty, but that I heard such a thing had been whispered to him. He said, Yes; and he believed by Lord Arlington, who had sometimes talked of that journey after the peace should be made; however it came, he was sorry the King should believe it: that he was his Majesty's servant, and, if he could do him no service, he would at least do him no harm: but, if the King would be otherwise possessed, he could not help it; yet he desired me to assure him, there had never been any ground for such a report. In the afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me in great heat, he had, since he saw me, received the most impertinent letter from Lord Arlington that ever was upon that subject, treating it as a resolution certain and intended for raising heats in the Parliament, and commotions in the kingdom; telling him, it was like to prove but an ill friendship between the King and him, if it was to be made *à coup de bâtons* [with blows]; and putting him in mind, *Qu'il y a des playes chez vous, qui saigneront encore si l'on y met la main*, [That there are some wounds among you, which will bleed afresh if they be but touched.] The Prince

said he knew well enough what Lord Arlington meant by that expression, for he had told Monsieur Van Rheede in England, when he went over upon the first motions of the last peace, that the King could make the Prince be served as De Witt was, if he would set himself about it. Upon this he fell into the greatest rage that ever I saw him in, against my Lord Arlington, calling this proceeding malicious and insolent; saying, he would write to him what he deserved, but never have any thing more to do with him beyond common forms; that, since he knew not how to trust the King's Ministers, he would write to the King himself, and desired me to convey his letters so as they might come to no other hand.

Soon after, Count Waldeck went to Vienna to concert the actions of the next campaign, where Count Montecuculi was appointed to command the Imperial forces instead of the Duke de Bournonville; and the Count de Souches was sent away into a government in Hungary. In March the Elector of Brandenburg came to Cleves upon the same concert, where he was met by the Prince of Orange, and the Marquis de Grana, the Emperor's Minister: but the main point debated here, was thought to be the defence necessary to be made in Pomerania against the Swede, who began now to throw off the mask, to ravage the country, and to attack some places necessary for their quarters. The money likewise paid that Court from France at Hamburgh had been so public and so avowed, that none further doubted of a sudden and open rupture from that Crown. Whereupon the States sent to Monsieur Ehernstein (then Swedish Ambassador at the Hague, and who would have kept still the figure of a mediator), to put in no more memorials to the States upon that occasion; since they could not re-

ceive them from a Minister, whose Prince had openly, and without cause, attacked one of their allies.

At this time arrived an Ambassador from Denmark at the Hague, to try what advantages his Master could make of this present conjuncture, by terms of entering into the alliance against France and Sweden. And, all things being thus in the highest fermentation, a sudden damp fell upon the whole mass of these great affairs by the sickness of the Prince of Orange; which shewed him to be the spring that gave motion to all the other wheels; for while his illness lasted, and the event was doubtful, all was in suspense, and none of the parties engaged seemed to have other motions or sentiments than what were raised by the hopes or fears of so important a life. After some days fever, it proved the small-pox, which had been very fatal in his family, and gave the greater apprehensions to his friends, and his country, who expressed indeed a strange concernment upon this occasion, by a perpetual concourse of people to enquire after every minute's progress of his illness. Whilst it lasted, he had taken a fancy hardly to eat or drink any thing but what came from my house, which the people often took notice of as it passed; and though perhaps few foreigners have had the luck to be better thought of or used in a strange country, than we had ever been in Holland; yet several of our Dutch friends told us, that, in case any thing fatal happened to the Prince from this disease, they believed the people would pull down our houses, and tear us all in pieces, upon knowing what he took in his sickness came from our hands. God be thanked all passed without any bad accident, though ill symptoms at first; and his recovery, next to the blessing of God, was owing to the great evenness of his temper, and constancy of mind, which gave

way to no impressions or imaginations that use to be of so ill consequence in that disease; so that it passed in the common forms; and within twenty days he was abroad, and fell into the present business of the scene, among which the preparation for the campaign was the chief.

I cannot here forbear to give Monsieur Bentinck the character due to him, of the best servant I have ever known in Prince's or private family. He tended his Master, during the whole course of his disease, both night and day; nothing he took was given him, nor he ever removed in his bed, by any other hand; and the Prince told me, that whether he slept or no he could not tell, but, in sixteen days and nights, he never called once that he was not answered by Monsieur Bentinck, as if he had been awake. The first time the Prince was well enough to have his head opened and combed, Monsieur Bentinck, as soon as it was done, begged of his Master to give him leave to go home, for he was able to hold up no longer: he did so, and fell immediately sick of the same disease, and in great extremity; but recovered just soon enough to attend his Master into the field, where he was ever next his person.

The campaign happened to begin later than it used to do on the French side; both from the expectation what the Prince's sickness would end in, and from some commotions succeeding one another about this time in Guyenne and Britany, upon occasion of the imposts or gabels, which drew some of the French forces into those parts. But when those troubles were ended, as they were by an unusual strain of lenity and clemency in composing them, all imaginable endeavours were used to prepare in France for the campaign: the King intended to attack Flanders at the head of all the choice of his forces, and with the greatest vigour and im-

pression he could make this year upon the Spanish Netherlands; yet the King pretended to be but a volunteer in the army, of which he declared the Prince of Condé General, whether to put the greatest compliment he could on so great merit, or to hinder his brother from making difficulty of acting under that Prince's orders. And Monsieur de Turenne was to be employed in Alsace, to attend and amuse as much as he could the German army, for fear of giving the King too much diversion in Flanders; and this with orders to act by concert with Count Wrangel, General of the Swedish forces in Pomerania, who gave hopes of marching so far into Germany as to concert his actions, or at least motions, with those of Monsieur de Turenne. On the other side, the confederates were as busy in their provisions against these designs. The Elector of Mentz was drawn to throw off the remainders of his neutrality, and to receive the Imperial troops into his towns, as Strasburg had done; and practices were set on foot to change the temper of the Court of Bavaria, with hopes of success. Montecuculi prepared to come down into Alsace with the army of the Emperor and the adjoining circles: and the Elector of Brandenburg came to the Hague after the Prince of Orange's illness, where treaties were concluded with the King of Denmark's Ministers, and renewed with the Duke of Lunenburg. After which the Elector went immediately away to the relief of his own subjects and country, then invaded and spoiled by the open hostility of the Swedish forces. Whilst he was at the Hague, the compliments passed in form between us, but without visit or interview, though the Elector desired and pursued it with more instance than I well understood: for he sent his Minister at the Hague first to me, and afterwards engaged the Prince himself to endeavour it, by finding some expedient in the

difficulties of ceremony, or else by proposing a third place. But the French Ambassadors having taken up a form of refusing to visit any Elector, unless they might have the hand given them in those Princes houses, and the Electors having never consented to it, I told the Prince I could not go lower than the French Ambassadors did, in that or any other point; and that meeting in a third place would look like a sort of approving the refusal made by the Electors; and so I never saw this Prince during his stay at the Hague; much to my regret, because I had been prepossessed of many qualities very esteemable in him.

In the mean time, how useless soever for the present, yet the forms of his Majesty's mediation went on: after it had been accepted by all parties, the first point that came to be considered on, was the place of treaty; about which the Swedes could not surmount the difficulties during the course of their mediation. The House of Austria proposed to have the congress in some of the free towns of the Empire, as Franckfort, Hamburg, Strasburg, and some others: France refused ever to come into any town of the Empire, upon the insults they received and complained of so much at Cologne, in the seizure of Prince William of Furstenburg, and a great sum of the French money there; but offered, at the same time, to come and treat at Breda, though belonging to one of the parties engaged in the war; which they would make pass for a great condescension and testimony of that King's inclination to a peace.

The confederates, on the other side, would not hear of Breda: they took that proposition as an artifice, first, to ingratiate with the States beyond the rest of their allies; but next, which was the point of importance, they looked upon it as designed to carry on either a separate treaty with the States,

or, at least, private measures and correspondencies with several towns and persons of those provinces, so as to induce or force the States at last into a separate treaty with France, upon the difficulties or delays that might arise in a general one. And upon this point the allies were so jealous, that the States Deputies of the foreign committee, who managed all these affairs in the first resort, thought it necessary to seem as averse against treating in any of their dominions, as any of the allies. Thus all places in Germany, France, and the Low-Countries, seemed absolutely excluded by one part or other; and London was disliked by all, as too remote, and of difficult and uncertain commerce for letters, by reason of the sea. After much perplexity upon this subject, in many conferences I had with the Deputies, and discourses with the Pensioner, I proposed two places as the only I could think of, left for any attempt, upon all circumstances: the first was Cleves, which could not be said to belong to the Empire, but to the Elector of Brandenburg, as Duke of Cleves, and not as a Prince of the Empire. The other was Nimeguen, as being the last town belonging to the States, and upon the borders of Germany: both towns capable of such a reception as was necessary, both in good air, and easy of access from all parts, centered between Spain and Sweden, between the Empire and France, and near England, where the spring of this treaty was conceived to be. I thought France might not dislike Cleves, even upon those regards the allies suspected, of the vicinity to the States; and the confederates could not except against it, as belonging to one of them. On the other side, if the allies approved Cleves, and France should refuse it, yet they could not afterwards disapprove of Nimeguen, which was but three leagues nearer the Hague or Amsterdam (where they sus-

pected the French practices), and disjoined from both by necessary passage of great rivers, which made the commerce more difficult and slow than it would be from other towns of the States dominions. Another reason was, that I knew no other to name, that did not seem previously excluded. And upon this the Deputies consented that I should propose both to the King, that he might do the same to all the parties; but that I should begin with Cleves, which I did.

This France refused, upon pretence of some dependence upon the Empire; but, as was thought, upon pique to the Duke of Brandenburg, with whom they were more offended at this time than with any of the allies. After this refusal, Nimeguen being advanced, France first accepted it, and afterwards the allies, who could not well refuse it, after having expressed they would have been satisfied with Cleves: and so this place came to be fixed for the scene of this negotiation.

But at the same time that France accepted the place of treaty, they declared that they would not, however, send any Ambassadors thither, till the Emperor had given them satisfaction upon the two points, so long insisted on, of Prince William of Furstenburg's liberty, and restitution of the money seized at Cologne, which were points had been hitherto as obstinately refused at Vienna, as demanded by France; so as these paces towards a peace gained at present very little ground, but left way for the actions and successes of the ensuing campaign, to determine the times, the methods, and conditions of their pretended treaty.

The French began their action by the siege of Limbourg, with one part of their army; whilst the King, with the rest, lay encamped in a post most convenient to oppose any attempt of relieving it, to which purpose the Prince was upon his march;

but, after a short and weak resistance, it was taken before he could approach it: for, besides some delays forced by his sickness, he began here to feel the weight that hung about him in all the course of this war, from the uncertain and slow marches of the German horse, and the weakness and disorders of the Spanish troops; which were necessary to make up his army of strength to oppose that of France, composed of such numbers, such brave and experienced troops, and under so great a commander as the Prince of Condé, and so gallant officers.

After the taking of Limbourg, the French and confederate armies in Flanders fell into no considerable action or attempt: neither daring to sit down before any place of strength, whilst the other army attended them, and was ready to relieve it; and neither seeming very earnest to come to a battle (unless with evident advantages), upon the loss of which so great consequences seemed to depend, as the French entire conquest of Flanders, on the one side; or the confederates marching directly into France, on the other, after any great victory. Besides, they seemed to be amused by the expectation of what was likely to pass in Germany, both upon the Rhine between the Imperialists and French, and in Pomerania between the Swede and Brandenburg; which, without new successes in the Low-Countries, were like to decide, in a great measure, the fate of this war; whilst the confederates equally presumed of their successes in Alsace, and the French of those of the Swedes in the north.

About the end of July, the King of France, weary of a dull campaign, left the army to the Prince of Condé, and returned with his Court to Versailles; and, the same month, his Majesty, seeing the negotiations of the peace laid at present asleep, sent for me to make a short turn into Eng-

land, and give an account of all the observations I had been able to make abroad upon the present dispositions and conjunctures, as well as receive his instructions for the future progress of his mediation.

The Parlia ment in England, though much pleased with the last peace with Holland, yet were not so with his Majesty's desires of a general one. They thought the power of France too great since their last conquests in Flanders: and their ambition too declared, of atchieving it by one means, and at one time or other. They were suspicious of the Court's favouring too much the French designs, by pursuing a peace that would break so mighty a confederacy as was now united against France. They were jealous of the counsels which had made the late alliance and kindness between us and France in the time of the late Cabal. And besides these regards, and the common notions of balancing the power of our neighbours, which were very popular; the ambitious designs of private, but unquiet or aspiring men, fell in to augment and blow up the general ill humours upon the more public accounts.

The Lord Shaftsbury, impatient at his fall from so great a share of the Ministry, and hoping to retrieve a game he was forced to give over, had run desperately into the popular humour, both in Parliament and city, of censuring the Court, exclaiming against our partiality to France, but most of all against the conduct of the present Ministry: and Lord Arlington was so enraged at the growth of my Lord Treasurer's credit upon the fall of his own, that he fell in with the common humour of the Parliament, in fomenting those jealousies and practices in the House of Commons, which centered in a measure agreed among the most considerable of them, not to consent to give the King any money, whilst the present Lord Treasurer con-

tinued. Upon these occasions or dispositions they grew very high in pursuing the Lord Lauderdale, the only remainder of the Cabal that had now any credit left at Court; and they pressed the King very earnestly to recall all the English troops in the French service, though there was a greater number in the Dutch: but besides, they fell into so great dissensions between the two Houses, raised upon punctilious disputes, and deductions of their several privileges in opposition to one another, that about the end of June the King prorogued them.

Upon my arrival soon after, his Majesty, telling me the several reasons that had moved him to it, said, That he doubted much, while the war lasted abroad, it would give occasion or pretence for these heats that had of late appeared in the Parliament, and make him very uneasy in his revenue, which so much needed their assistance: that some of the warm leaders in both Houses had a mind to engage him in a war against France, which they should not do for many reasons; and, among the rest, because he was sure, if they did, they would leave him in it, and make use of it to ruin his Ministers, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any King would desire. But, besides all this, he doubted an impertinent quarrel between my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain did him more disservice in the Parliament than I could imagine: for the last did not care what harm he did his business there, so he could hope to ruin my Lord Treasurer; and had persuaded a great many in the House of Commons, that this would certainly be compassed if they were stanch and declared in giving no money during his Ministry: that he knew they were both my friends, and therefore desired I would try to reconcile them while I staid in England. I endeavoured it, but failed: my Lord Danby was very inclinable, being so

posted as to desire only to continue where he was, and that the King's business might go well in his hands; but my Lord Arlington was so uneasy in the posture he stood, which he attributed chiefly to my Lord Treasurer's present greatness, that he was untreatable upon this subject: so, when I found the wound was too much rankled to be cured, I gave it over, telling each of them, that, since I could not make them friends, I would at least live with them both as if they were so; and desired them not to expect I should sacrifice one friend to another. My Lord Treasurer was content with this frankness, but Lord Arlington could not bear this neither, grew dry from this time, and stiff in all that passed between us; still mingling little reproaches or touches of my greatness with the other; and grew so weary of the scene at Court, where he found himself left out, that he went into the country for the rest of the summer.

Thus the seeds of discontents, that had been sown in the Parliament under the counsels of the Cabal, began to spring fast and root deep, after their power and influence was wholly at an end; and those heats were, under other covers, fomented by two of the chief that composed that Ministry, and with help of time and accident grew to such flames as have since appeared. But whatever began or increased them, it is certain these agitations in England had great effect upon those of the war and peace abroad: for the confederates were confident, that the humour of the Parliament and people would at last engage the King in their quarrel, which they knew would force France to such a peace as they desired: and Spain was so presuming that England would not suffer the loss of Flanders, that they grew careless of its defence, or of those orders and supplies that were necessary to it; trusting for the present to the Dutch

to preserve it, and to the King hereafter, whenever he should find it more in danger. And these considerations made the allies less inclinable to a peace, which they might have had cheaper the following winter than ever it fell afterwards to their share, by revolutions that were not foreseen, but yet such as were suspected at this time, by those that knew the weakness of the Spaniards, and divisions of the Imperial Court.

While I staid in England, which was about six weeks, the news came of a great insurrection in Britany, which, with the numbers and rage it began, might have proved of ill consequence to the French affairs, if it had met with a head answerable to the body; but being composed of a scum of the mean people, that hated and spoiled the noblesse of the province, it was, by fair means, partly, and by foul, in a little time appeased. The blow, which was much more considerable to France than the loss of provinces would have been, was the death of Monsieur Turenne, the news whereof came to Court about the same time. This great captain had, for three months together, kept the Imperial army at a bay on the other side the Rhine; resolved not to fight unless with the greatest advantage, his point being to hinder the German forces from besieging Philipsburg, from posting themselves in the towns of Alsace, but chiefly from entering into Lorrain, or the county of Burgundy: all these he performed; but being pressed by the Imperialists, and straitened in his quarters, he suffered much by want of provisions, and found his army diminished by sickness and desertion, which use to follow that condition. At last, being necessitated for want of forage to force a post of the enemies that straitened him most, a warm skirmish began, and with loss to the French, who were galled with two pieces of cannon raised upon

an eminence, and playing upon them with advantage. Monsieur Turenne resolved to raise a battery to dismount them; and going with St. Hilaire, a lieutenant-general, to choose a place the most convenient for it, the two small pieces from the Imperial side fired at them almost together; one of the bullets wounded St. Hilaire in the shoulder, and the other, after two or three bounds upon the ground, struck Monsieur Turenne upon the breast, and, without any apparent wound more than the contusion, laid him dead upon the place, and by such a death as Cæsar used to wish for, unexpected, sudden, and without pain. The astonishment was unspeakable in the French camp upon the loss of such a general; the presumption as great in that of the Imperialists, who reckoned upon themselves as masters of the whole French army, that was straitened between them and the Rhine, in want, diseased, and, above all, discouraged by the loss of their captain. All others had the same expectation upon this news, but all were disappointed; and Monsieur de Lorges, taking the command of the army, had the honour of making a retreat that was worth a victory; and, by the force of order and conduct, with the bravery of the English troops, who made such bold stands in several places, that they could not be broken till most of the army were marched off, he passed the Rhine in sight of part of the Imperial army, and encamped himself on the other side in safety, and so preserved it till the Prince of Condé was sent in haste out of Flanders, with a great enforcement, to oppose the progress of the Imperialists in Alsace.

In the mean time the Elector of Brandenburg, drawing his forces, with some Imperialists out of Silesia, together, fell upon the Swedes in Pomerania with that bravery and success, that he soon beat them out of his part of the country, and pur-

sued them into their own. He had an interview with the King of Denmark, who was now entered into the interests of the confederates, and resolved to declare war against Sweden; and to that end took his measures with the Duke of Brandenburg how to pursue it with the best advantage the rest of the season.

When the Prince of Condé left Flanders, to succeed Monsieur Turenne in Alsace, the Duke of Luxemburg commanded the army in Flanders; but with orders not to hazard a battle, and only to observe the Prince of Orange's motions, and to cover any town that was like to be endangered; which he performed so well, that no further action passed this summer, besides the Prince's taking and razing of Binch. But, to make amends for the unactiveness of the campaign in Flanders, the confederates, by concert on all sides, fell upon an enterprise of great *éclat*, and of greater consequence, which was the siege of Triers. The Imperialists were bent upon it, to open a passage that way into France, finding so much opposition in their designs of it by Alsace: the Spaniards desired it, to make way for their succouring Luxemburg whenever it should be pressed, which was of the last importance to them: the Duke of Lorrain was violently for it, in hopes of finding a way open for his entrance into Lorrain: the Prince Palatine thought it the best preparation for besieging and carrying Philipsburg, which was the thorn in his side. So all these joined part of their troops together, with some of the Elector of Triers's, and a body of Lunenburg forces under the Dukes of Zell and Osnaburg, and sat down before Triers.

The Marshal de Crequi gathered all the forces he could out of the neighbouring provinces, and made up a strong army to relieve it. The confederates left part of theirs to maintain their re-

trenchments about the town, and marched with the rest against Monsieur de Crequi, passed a river in his sight, attacked him, beat him out of the field with great slaughter, many prisoners, and such a dispersion of the rest, that the whole army seemed to have vanished in one day; and Monsieur de Crequi got into Triers with four or five only in company: there he made a desperate resistance for near a month against the victorious army, with great honour and loss among the English troops that were in the town, and without any hopes of relief; nor would he ever capitulate, after all the extremities he was reduced to by the forms of a siege, till the garrison mutinied against his obstinacy, capitulated for themselves, and delivered up Monsieur de Crequi and most of the officers prisoners to the Germans. The Dukes of Lunenburg had great honour in this action, and the old Duke of Lorrain; and indeed it was one of the most vigorous that succeeded in the whole course of the war, and carried the completest victory, as well as a very considerable town: and the honour of it was very much due to the Marquis de Grana, who commanded the Emperor's forces there, and was esteemed to have laid the first design, to have concerted the several parts of it, engaged the several parties to resolve upon the same adventure, and kept them firm in it till it was atchieved. The loss of men was very great on the French side, both in the fight and the siege; and, added to Monsieur Turenne's death, and the impression expected upon it on that side from the Count de Montecuculi, with the loss of the Swedes, made so great a change in the appearance of affairs, that his Majesty, in a letter to me in September, after my return to the Hague, bid me use it as an argument to induce the Prince of Orange to be easy in the business of a peace; that it was now time

for him to begin to apprehend again the greatness of the House of Austria instead of that of France. It was indeed expected, that the Imperialists in Alsace would either enter into Lorrain, or at least would take the chief towns of Alsace, and post themselves so the following winter, as to be ready for such an enterprise in the beginning of the next spring; and the Count de Montecuculi besieged first Haguenau, and afterwards Zaberne, which were the most considerable places, to that end. But, after Haguenau had offered to surrender upon conditions, he rose with his army to fight the Prince of Condé, who made a motion with his army as if he intended to relieve it; but so ordered it, as the Germans failed both of the battle and the town. It was never comprehended how Montecuculi afterwards came to rise of a sudden from the siege of Zaberne: some said it was upon an express order from Vienna the night before; others, with design of fighting the French army, or besieging Philipsburg; but neither happened: and, which was worse than all, he ended the campaign with passing back his whole army over the Rhine, and leaving Alsace wholly in the possession and at the mercy of the French troops. Nor have I ever known any action of such public concern, so unaccountable as this retreat; since it is hard to suspect either corruption or Court faction should go so far, though both were accused of having part in this great and almost decisive event.

The resentment of it was thought to have broke the old Duke of Lorrain's heart, who died about this time, and left Prince Charles, his nephew, the succession to that dutchy. No Prince had met with more misfortunes than this Duke, nor had felt them less, or given greater testimony of what philosophy teaches, that the good or ill of men's lives comes more from their humours than their

fortunes. He was expelled that noble and lovely dutchy by the arms of France in Cardinal Richelieu's time: forced to go into the Spanish service in Flanders with a body of Lorrainers, that would follow his fortune whatever it was; struggled with want of pay to his troops, with jealousy and ill usage of the Spanish governors; was seized and imprisoned by that Crown; restored to a shattered possession of Lorrain by the peace of the Pyrenees; and in the year 1670 forced to escape by night, and almost alone, by a sudden surprize of the French troops, in the height and security of peace: after this he never had a home any more for the rest of his life, which was spent in suing for protection and relief from the several Princes of Christendom, who resented the injustice of his case, which none pretended to defend, but yet none to concern themselves in it, till upon the last war he fell into his share of the confederacy, with the weight of two or three thousand Lorrainers that still followed his fortune, and entered into leagues with the Emperor and most of the allies for his restitution. He seemed not to deserve the fortune of a Prince, only because he seemed not to care for it, to hate the constraints and ceremonies that belonged to it, and to value no pleasures in life but the most natural and most easy; and, while he had them, was never out of humour for wanting the rest; generous to his servants and soldiers when he had it; and, when he wanted, endeavouring to make it up by the liberties he gave them; very much beloved and familiar among both: and, to give his picture by a small trait, one of his Ministers told me, that, not long before he died, all his family was a gentleman of the horse (as he was called), another of his chamber, and a boy that looked to a little nag he used to ride: one day he called for his horse; the two first told

him the boy was not to be found; he bid them however get him his horse: they could not agree which of them should go and saddle him; till the Duke bid them go, and one or the other of them do it, or else he swore he would go down and saddle his horse himself: they were ashamed, and it was done.

About the same time died at the Hague the old Princess-Dowager of Orange; a woman of the most wit and good sense, in general, that I have known; and who had thereby a great part in forming the race of the Prince, and the mighty improvement it received from three very extraordinary women, as well as three so great men in the last descents. None has shewed more the force of order and economy than this Princess; who, with small revenues, never above twelve thousand pounds a year since her husband's death, lived always in as as great plenty, and more curiousness and elegance, than is seen in many greater Courts. Among other pieces of greatness, she was constantly served all in gold plate, which went so far as to great bottles for water, and a great cistern for bottles, to the key of her closet, and every thing of that kind she usually touched; which I mention, because I think it is what the greatest Kings of Christendom have not pretended to, nor any I have heard of on this side Persia.

In November this year happened a storm at north-west, with a spring tide, so violent, as gave apprehensions of some loss irrecoverable to the province of Holland; and, by several breaches in the great digue near Enchuysen, and others between Amsterdam and Haerlem, made way for such inundations as had not been seen before by any man then alive, and filled the country with many relations of most deplorable events. But the incredible diligence and unanimous endeavours of

the people, upon such occasions, gave a stop to the fury of that element, and made way for recovering next year all the lands, though not the people, cattle, and houses, that had been lost.

Before the end of the year, the Danes took Wismar from the Swedes, and, by an open war, those two Crowns came to be engaged in the common quarrel: and, after a great expectation of some extraordinary successes in the Spanish affairs from Don John's intended expedition into Italy, to command all the forces and provinces of that Crown both there and in Sicily, when he was ready to go and meet De Ruyter at Barcelona, who attended him there with the Dutch fleet designed for Messina, he was, by a Court-intrigue, recalled to Madrid: the King was then arrived in his fourteenth year, and took upon him the government, as now in majority; and, by the advice of some near him in favour, writ a letter to Don John to invite him to Court to assist him in the government: he obeyed, but staid not there above a fortnight or three weeks, till, by the credit and authority of the Queen-mother, he was forced to quit his ground there, and return to Saragossa. And so vanished a mighty expectation that had been raised in Spain, and other places, of great effects that were to follow this Prince's coming to the administration of affairs; and very great sums of money were wholly lost, that had been employed in the preparations of his journey and equipage for Italy. And Sicily was left almost hopeless of recovery, from the successes of the French, who had taken many posts about Messina, and threatened many more; and other towns were feared to follow the example of that great revolt.

After the Prince's return from the campaign to the Hague, in October, I had several conferences with him upon the subject of the peace, and the

terms that both his Majesty and the States might think reasonable between France and Spain, and both those Crowns be in any probability of consenting to. That which France pretended, was the terms of the peace of Aix, and retaining the county of Burgundy which had been since conquered; or if either this province, or some of the most important frontier-towns of Flanders, should be restored, then an equivalent to be made them for such restitution. The Spaniards talked of nothing less than the peace of the Pyrenees; and that they would rather lose the rest of Flanders by the war, than part with Burgundy by the peace; and said, both the King and the States were as much concerned in Flanders, as the Crown of Spain, and had the same interest to see it safe by a war or a peace, which could not be by such a frontier as was left by that of Aix.

That which my Lord Arlington had proposed to the Prince and Pensioner, and which passed for his Majesty's sentiment, though he pretended no orders, was the terms of Aix la Chapelle: but, in regard of the necessity for the Spaniards to have a better frontier in Flanders than was left by that peace, that the French should give up Aeth, and Charleroy, and Oudenarde, for Aire and St. Omer; and that, if they parted with the county of Burgundy, it should be for something in exchange. His Majesty commanded me to assure the Prince, that if a peace could be made upon these terms, or any so near them that he might hope to obtain the consent of France, his Majesty, for the security of Flanders, would give his own guaranty to the peace, and enter into the strictest alliance the States could desire for preserving it, or defending Flanders in case of a new rupture. He bid me further assure the Prince, that for his patrimonial lands in Burgundy (which were about eight thou-

sand pounds a-year, and lordships of the greatest royalty in that county), he would undertake for his secure possessing them, though that county should remain in the French hands; or for selling them to that King, and at what price the Prince himself could think fit to value them.

The Prince's answer was, that for his own part he could be very well content to leave the terms of a peace to his Majesty himself, and believed the States would do so too; but they were both engaged by treaty and honour to their allies, and there was no thought of making peace without them: that he believed the Spaniards might be persuaded to it upon the terms of Aix, with restitution only of Aeth, Charleroy, and Oudenarde, towards composing some kind of necessary frontier on that side; but to part with Aire and St. Omer, without any further and greater exchange, he believed they would not in the present posture of things: that for France retaining the county of Burgundy, as conquered in this last war, he was sure neither Spain nor the Emperor would ever consent to it, unless they were beaten into it by disasters they had no reason to expect; though, for his own part, he should be content with it, provided the French would restore Tournay, Courtray, Lisle, and Doway, with their dependencies, to the Spaniards, in lieu of it; because by that means Flanders would have a secure frontier on that side, and a reasonable good one by Aeth and Charleroy on the other; and the security of Flanders was the chief interest of the States upon the peace: that, for himself, he thanked his Majesty for his offer, as to his lands in Burgundy; but they never came into his thought upon the terms of a peace, nor should ever hinder it; but, on the other side, he would be content to lose them all, to gain one good town more for the Spaniards in Flanders,

When I put him in mind, as the King ordered me, of the apprehensions he and the States might have of the greatness of the House of Austria, if their successes continued; he told me, there was no need of that, till they should go beyond the peace of the Pyrenees: whenever that should happen, he should be as much a Frenchman as he was now a Spaniard; but not before. He ended, in desiring that whatever plan his Majesty thought fit to propose for a peace, he would do it at the congress at Nimeguen; for the number and variety of pretensions and interests were grown so great, by all the parties now engaged in the war, that it could not be done in any other place; and, for his part, he could never consent to any treaty separate from his allies: that he believed they would be reasonable; and, if France would be so too, the peace might be made; if not, perhaps another campaign might bring them to reason; and that this might have done it, if some differences between him and the Spaniards, in the actions proposed, had not hindered the successes they hoped for in Flanders, and if Montecuculi's impatience to be at Vienna, and pass the winter there, upon the factions stirring at Court, had not made him repass the Rhine, and take his winter-quarters in the circles of the empire there, because, if he had done it in Alsace, he doubted his presence with the army might be thought necessary.

After this conference, and no return from his Majesty to the account I gave him of it, the discourse ceased of private measures to be agreed to between his Majesty and the Prince and States, for promoting a peace; and all thoughts began now to turn upon forming the congress at Nimeguen.

I had another testimony given me of the firmness I had always found in the Prince upon the subject of the peace, by what one of the Spanish

Ministers told me had lately passed between him and the Duke de Villa Hermosa. His Highness had a long pretence depending at Madrid, for about two hundred thousand pounds owing to his family from that Crown since the peace of Munster. It had ever been delayed, though never refused; an agent from the Prince had of late very much pressed the Queen-regent of Spain upon this subject, and with much ado had obtained an order for fifty thousand pounds; and bills were put into his hands by the Ministers there, which, when they arrived in Flanders, instead of being paid, were protested. The Duke de Villa Hermosa was so ashamed of this treatment, that he sent a person purposely to excuse it to the Prince, and assure him the fault was not in the Queen nor Ministers, but only in the choice of hands by which it was transmitted, and desired his Highness would not take it ill of the Queen. The Prince answered, "No, not at all; on the other side I have reason to take it well of the Queen; for, if she did not think me the honestest man in the world, she would not use me so; however, nothing of this kind shall hinder me from doing what I owe to my allies, or to my honour."

Notwithstanding all I had written from the Prince to his Majesty upon this subject, yet my Lord Arlington, upon pretended intelligence from his relations in Holland, endeavoured to persuade him that he knew not the Prince's mind for want of somebody that had more credit with him than I had; and at the same time he pursued the Prince by letters, to desire the King to send over some such person as he might treat with in the last confidence upon all matters between them. The Prince shewed me his letters, and bid me assure the King and my Lord Treasurer, that he could say no more than he had done to me, and would not say so much to any other man. However, my Lord Arlington,

upon the former suggestions, prevailed with the King to send over Sir Gabriel Silvius instructed to know the bottom of the Prince's mind upon the subject of the peace, before the campaign began. He acquainted the Prince with this resolution, and that he was a person they knew his Highness would trust: the Prince shewed me this letter too, and said, he knew not what he meant; that Lord Arlington knew as well as any man how far he trusted both Sir Gabriel Silvius and me. This good usage ended all correspondence between Lord Arlington and me, which had lasted by letters to this time, though coldly since my being last in England. But upon Sir Gabriel Silvius's coming to the Hague in January, and my preparation to go for Nimeguen, I ended that scent; having not learned enough of the age, nor the Court I lived in, to act an unsincere part either in friendship or in love.

When Sir Gabriel came to the Hague, he passed for a man of some great intrigue, was perpetually at Court, or in conversation and visits with the persons near the Prince or most employed in the State. But he and Lord Arlington were soon satisfied to how good purpose he came over; for the Prince, who is the sincerest man in the world, hating all tricks, and those that use them, gave him no mark of the least confidence while he staid, and sent him away with a very plain one of the contrary, by trusting another hand with all he writ of consequence into England, before he went into the field. The truth is, the Prince took this journey of his to have been designed by my Lord Arlington, both out of spite to me, and to give jealousies to the confederates, by the suspicion of something in agitation between the King and the Prince that I was not thought fit to be trusted with. And indeed several of their Ministers at the Hague were apt to fall into such surmises: but Monsieur de Lyra, a

Spanish Minister, a person much credited in his own Court, and much in the Prince's confidence, was ever firm in the belief of his Highness's honour and constancy (which he used to say his Master trusted to more than to any treaties), and so helped to prevent such impressions.

In the mean time, all motions necessary towards forming the congress at Nimeguen began to be made by the several parties, and gave appearances of the Ambassadors meeting suddenly there. The great obstruction hitherto had been the point of Prince William of Furstemburg's liberty, which France had so absolutely insisted on before they sent their Ambassadors, and the Emperor had been induced to promise only upon conclusion of the treaty. But an expedient was found out to salve the honour of France upon this point, rather than the treaty should be hindered, which was at that time thought necessary for their affairs: the Bishop of Strasburg made a formal request to the King of France, that no private interests, or respects of his brother, might delay the treaty of a peace which was of so much consequence to all Christendom; and, this request being at this time easily received and granted, no further difficulty was made upon this point.

His Majesty thereupon invited all the Princes concerned in the war, to hasten away their Ministers to the place of congress, and acquainted them with his having ordered his own to repair immediately thither; and having some months before appointed the Lord Berkley (then Ambassador at Paris) Sir William Temple and Sir Lionel Jenkins his ambassadors, mediators, and plenipotentiaries for the treaty of Nimeguen; Sir Lionel was accordingly dispatched away, and arrived at the Hague towards the end of January 1676, and brought with him our instructions for that embassy;

and, after some few days stay at the Hague, went away for Nimeguen. But the expedition of the passports, from and to all the Ministers of the several parties, having been for some time under my care, and many of them come to my hands, though others were entangled still in some difficulty or other, we both concluded it necessary for me to continue at the Hague till this was dispatched; whilst Sir Lionel should go upon the place of congress, and, by the presence of a mediator, invite the rest to make more haste than many of them seemed disposed to at this time.

The French Ambassadors were already come to Charleville, where they staid for their passports only, to go on with their journey; and, upon Sir Lionel's arrival at the Hague, the Dutch Ambassadors came to us to acquaint us with the States orders for their immediate repair to Nimeguen, and for the magistrates of that city (which they now considered as a neutral town) to receive all orders from us the mediators, and particularly any we pleased to give about our reception upon our arrival there.

We told them, his Majesty's thoughts were upon the successes of the treaty, and that nothing could more obstruct it than the ceremonies which used to attend those meetings; and therefore he ordered us to introduce, as much as we could among all the Ambassadors, the method of living there as much like private men as could consist with the honour of their characters; and to this end, that we should make no public entries, and give thereby an example to those that came after us.

To avoid all punctilio's about the time of the several parties dispatching the passports, it was agreed that all should be sent to the Hague from the several Courts, and there should be put into my hands; to the end, that, when I found myself possessed of them, I should make the distribution

reciprocally to both parties at the same time. Those of France were early with me, but short in some points of those from the confederates; the chief whereof was the omission of liberty granted to the Ambassadors to dispatch couriers to their Masters' Courts upon passports of the respective Ambassadors, which was thought necessary for the progress of the treaty. Another was the omission of passports for the Duke of Lorrain's Ministers in the form usual and expected: for whereas the Crown of France had always treated the former Dukes of Lorrain with the title of Duke, and appellation of Brother, their passports now treated the new Duke only with Cousin, and Prince Charles of Lorrain; the rest were minute differences or mistakes of words, which are not worth the mention, and were easily surmounted. Of all these his Majesty had early notice, and employed his offices towards France for some months, without answer upon that of Lorrain, and with positive refusal of inserting the clause for liberty of passports; though Monsieur Van Beuninghen several times, during this pause, writ to the States, that the King often assured him (their Ambassador at London) that there should be no difficulty in the business of Lorrain.

About the beginning of February this year 1676, I received a letter from Monsieur de Pompone, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs in France, to tell me, that his Master, having been acquainted from his Majesty with the difficulties occurred in forming the congress, had ordered him to let me know his reasons upon them: as to that of couriers, that he thought it not fit to have his countries and towns lie open to his enemies observations and discoveries, upon pretext of such couriers frequent passage: that the inconvenience would be the same to the confederates: and that he asked no more than he

gave. As to the point of Lorrain, that his Master could not give passports with the style of Duke, which carried that of Brother; pretending that duchy belonged to his most Christian Majesty by the treaty 1662, between him and the last Duke.

Not many days after, I received notice from Secretary Williamson, of the same account having been given his Majesty by Monsieur de Ruvigny, with order to acquaint the States with it; which I had not done upon Monsieur de Pompone's letter, as not thinking fit to make any paces in these matters without orders from his Majesty. The States and all their allies were very much surprised with this pretence of Lorrain, which France had never before advanced, or so much as mentioned, either upon the seizure of that duchy, or since that time, in the accounts of it by their Ministers in the several Courts of Christendom; they had only professed to have found such a seizure necessary for preserving the peace wherein Christendom then was, from the dangerous or uncertain dispositions of that Duke, with whom his most Christian Majesty could take no certain measures, and his enemies would be practising; but that it was without any intention of retaining any part of that duchy otherwise than for this end of preserving the peace of Christendom. All this, with many more circumstances, Monsieur Serinchamps, the Lorrain Envoy, alledged at the conferences with the States and allies upon this occasion; and, for the treaty of 1662, he seemed to wonder it should ever be mentioned, as a thing wholly invalid, and, as every body thought, thereupon long since forgotten: that the last Duke had no power to dispose of that duchy from his nephew; because, if the Salique law had place in Lorrain, it was unalienable from the next heir-male; if the *feminine succession*, then that Duke himself had no title at all to it, but it

belonged to the present Duke even in the life of his uncle. Secondly, that it was invalid, by the French non-performance of the only condition on their side, upon which the old Duke pretended to have made it; which was, that the Princes of that family should be assumed into the rank of Princes of the blood in France; and, that upon registering that treaty of 1662 in the Parliament of Paris, without that clause, the old Duke had declared it void within three weeks after it was made. Thirdly, that a treaty was concluded the year after, being 1663, at Marsal, between the most Christian King and the said Duke; by which he was to continue in the possession of all his territories, besides Marsal, in the same manner as he enjoyed them by the treaty of 1661, as he did till the seizure of them by France in 1670, during a profound peace, and with the professions above mentioned made by France to his Majesty at that time (as Monsieur Serinchamps averred) as well as to the other Courts of Christendom.

These arguments were of such force with all the confederates, that they were unanimous and firm in positively insisting upon the passports of that Duke, with the usual forms; and the more, since France had advanced a pretence to that duchy, which was never thought of before among the allies. The Austrian Ministers told me frankly, that the treaty should never be without this allowance of the Duke of Lorrain's title, nor the peace without his restitution. The States said, they, for their parts, would willingly refer this, and any other matters concerning the treaty, to his Majesty's arbitration; but that they were bound already by other treaties to their allies; and particularly to the Duke of Lorrain; and could not break from them upon a point of such apparent right as this. The Prince spoke the same language, and said fur-

ther, that he was bound by his oath of Stadtholder, among other things, to endeavour to the utmost of his power to keep the States to the due observance of their treaties; and so, by the grace of God, he would do in this as well as in others.

All this being signified to his Majesty, and by him to France, that Court continued peremptory in the matter; and the allies persisting in the same disposition, the congress began to be looked upon from all sides as a thing ended before it began. The allies took this pretence for a declaration from France of their resolution there should be no treaty at present; and grounded it upon some great expectation or design they had upon further progresses in Sicily, or new ones in Naples; or else from hopes of bringing in the Poles to the assistance of Sweden.

But the truth was, that France had been forced to discover upon this incident what they had always at heart: and I ever observed in the course of all these negotiations, that there were three points for which France thought the war worth continuing to the last extremity; which were, rather than restore Lorrain, or Burgundy, or leave a good frontier on both sides of the Spanish territories in Flanders. The two first would hinder the progress of their great design, whether of extending their empire only to the Rhine, or beyond it: the last would hinder their conquest of Flanders, whenever they pursued the finishing of that adventure, by leaving a passage for the Germans to relieve it, and by so great and dangerous a diversion as entering France through Lorrain or Burgundy.

His Majesty most certainly disapproved, and was surprised with this pretence of France to the duchy of Lorrain; but yet was prevailed with by Monsieur de Ruvigny to offer the expedient of his Majesty, as mediator, giving all passports neces-

sary to the congress at Nimeguen. Monsieur Van Beuninghen in this matter acted the part rather of a Burgomaster of Amsterdam, than an Ambassador of the States; and to make court to that town, which began to express great impatience for the peace, he assured his Majesty, that his Masters could not fail of consenting to this expedient. I foresaw it would be refused, and gave his Majesty notice of it before I proposed it to the States, as thinking his honour, and that of the mediation, concerned in such a refusal; but, receiving direct orders to propose it, I did so. The States told me, they would of themselves consent to this, or whatever else his Majesty should propose; but having communicated it to their allies, they would not hear of it; some refusing it with heat, and reflecting upon his Majesty's partiality to France; others with sullenness and silence, referring themselves to new orders from their Masters.

Hereupon the congress grew wholly desperate, and all parties prepared for the field without any other view for the three months following the first rise of this pretension. In the mean time there passed a fight between the French, and Dutch and Spanish ships, near Messina; wherein De Ruyter was shot in the heel by a cannon-bullet, of which he died within few days after, and determined the greatest loss to have certainly happened on that side, by that of the ablest sea-captain of his age, and the best servant that any Prince or State could have: for the rest, the advantage was not considerable on either part in this fight, nor the consequence material in the progress of the French arms in Sicily, or in any prospect of great enterprises upon Naples. On the other side, the Swedish affairs went very ill in Pomerania, and were threatened with great invasions the following campaign, both from Denmark and Brandenburg. This de-

cried the counsels of those persons that engaged them in this quarrel. Two Ambassadors, Count Oxenstiern and Olivecrans, were appointed for the treaty at Nimeguen, who had ever been of the sentiments of the faction which now began to prevail in the Swedish Court: they grew impatient for a peace, and for the treaty in order to it; they declared their disapproval of the French pretension raised to Lorrain, which seemed only to obstruct it; and that they would send their Ministers to the congress, whether the French came or no: and their Commissary at the Hague so well seconded these new dispositions of his Court, that, whilst the congress looked desperate by the declared obstinacy of both sides upon the point of Lorrain, ships and passports were dispatched by the States, with consent of their allies, to fetch the Swedish Ambassador from Gottenburg into Holland.

The confederates were besides much animated in their hopes, from the dispositions and humours expressed in a late session of Parliament in England; which grew so high against the French, or at least, upon that pretence, against the present conduct of his Majesty or his Ministers, that the King prorogued them about Christmas, before any of the matters projected by the warm men amongst the House of Commons were brought into form.

The French were upon their march into Flanders, and that King, at the head of a great and brave army, threatened some great enterprise. The Prince was preparing to go away into the field, with resolution and hopes of having the honour of a battle at the opening of the campaign; all thoughts of the congress meeting before the end of it were laid aside; when about the middle of May I was extremely surprised to receive a packet from Secretary Williamson, with the French passports for

the Duke of Lorrain's Ministers, in the form and with the styles demanded by the allies. And hereupon, all difficulties being removed, the passports were exchanged by the end of May.

Some days were lost by a new demand of the allies for passports likewise for the Duke of Newburg's Ministers, who was newly entered into the common alliance; and the same paces were expected likewise from the Duke of Bavaria (at least so the Germans flattered themselves or their friends.) Upon this, some of the Ministers of the allies at the Hague, whose Masters were very unwilling the congress should begin before the campaign ended, prevailed with the States to send deputies to me, to demand passports for the Duke of Newburg, and any other Princes that should enter into their alliance; and to declare, that, if these were refused by France, they would look upon what had been already granted as void.

I was something surprised at so unexpected a message from the States; and told their Deputies, that such a resolution was impracticable; that his Majesty had undertaken to procure passports for the parties engaged in the war, and all the allies they had named on both sides, which was done, and thereupon the congress ready to begin; and such a delay, as this would occasion, was both a disrespect to his Majesty, and that could not be consented to by France, nor the reciprocal of it by any of the allies that foresaw the consequences which might happen upon it: that some ally of France might fall off to the confederates, or some of the confederates to France; and with such circumstances, as it could not be expected either of them should think fit to give passports, or treat with them at the congress; nor was it a thing in any form, to demand passports without naming for whom they should be. After several other excep-

tions, the Deputies desired me to let them represent my reasons against it to the States, and to expect their answer till the next afternoon; and one of them told me, as he went out, that I had all the reason in the world, and that they had been too easy in it upon the instances of some allies. Next day the Deputies came to let me know the States had altered their resolution, and desired only, that his Majesty would procure passports for the Duke of Newburg's Ministers; which I easily undertook. This change had not passed without violent heats between the States Deputies and the Ministers of some allies, who pressed them so far, that one of the Deputies answered him, *Que pretendez vous donc, Messieurs, de nous faire dechirer par la canaille?* [Do you intend then, Gentlemen, to make us be torn in pieces by the rabble?] Which shews the disposition that ran so generally at this time throughout the trading provinces towards a peace.

There remained now but one preliminary undetermined, which was, to fix some extent of neutral country about the place of congress. France would have extended it two leagues round; the allies would have it bounded on one side by the river Waal, upon which Nimeguen stood, and was divided by it from the Betuwe, a part of the province of Holland, and through which lay the straight road into the rest of that country. Both these proposals were grounded upon the same reason: that of France, to facilitate the commerce of their Ambassadors with the towns of Holland, incite the desires, and enter into practices of peace distinct from the motions of the congress: that of the allies, to prevent or encumber the too easy and undiscovered passage of the French emissaries upon this occasion. However, both were positive in their opinions; so as this matter came not to be determined till some time after the congress began, and but lamely then.

CHAPTER II.

THE Prince was now ready to go into the field, and told me, that, before he went, he must have some talk with me in private, and at leisure; and to that purpose desired it might be in the garden of Honslaerdyck. We appointed the hour, and met accordingly. He told me, I would easily believe, that, being the only son that was left of his family, he was often pressed by his friends to think of marrying, and had many persons proposed to him, as their several humours led them: that, for his own part, he knew it was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excused the thoughts of it, otherwise than in general, till the war was ended: that, besides his own friends, the Deputies of the States began to press him more earnestly every day, and the more, as they saw the war like to continue; and perhaps they had more reason to do it than any others: that he had at last promised them he would think of it more seriously and particularly, and so he had, and resolved he would marry; but the choice of a person he thought more difficult: that he found himself inclined to no proposals had been made him out of France or Germany, nor indeed to any that had been mentioned upon this occasion by any of his friends but that of England: that, before he concluded to make any paces that way, he was resolved to have my opinion upon two points; but yet would not ask it, unless I promised to answer him as a friend, or at least an indifferent person, and not as the King's Ambassador. When I told him he should be obeyed, he went on, and said, that he would confess to me, during the late war, neither the States, nor he in particular, were without ap-

plications from several persons, and considerable, in England, who would fain have engaged them to head the discontents that were raised by the conduct of the Court in that whole war, which he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the humour of the nation, and might perhaps have proved very dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did: that all these persons, who pretended to be much his friends, were extremely against any thoughts of his marrying in England; their reasons were, that he would by it lose all the esteem and interest he had there, and be believed to have run wholly into the dispositions and designs of the Court, which were generally thought so different from those of the nation, especially upon the point of religion, that his friends there did not believe the government could be long without some great disturbance, unless they changed their measures, which was not esteemed very likely to be done: and upon this he desired my thoughts as a friend. The next was upon the person and dispositions of the young lady; for though it would not pass in the world for a Prince to seem concerned in those particulars, yet, for himself, he would tell me without any sort of affectation, that he was so, and in such a degree, that no circumstances of fortune or interest would engage him, without those of the person, especially those of humour and dispositions: that he might, perhaps, not be very easy for a wife to live with; he was sure he should not to such wives as were generally in the Courts of this age: that if he should meet with one to give him trouble at home, it was what he should not be able to bear, who was like to have enough abroad in the course of his life: and that, after the manner he was resolved to live with a wife, which should be the best he could, he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly

depended on her disposition and education; and if I knew any thing particular of the Lady Mary in these points, he desired me to tell him freely.

I answered his Highness, That I was very glad to find he was resolved to marry, being what he owed his family and friends: that I was much more pleased that his inclination led him to endeavour it in England: that I thought it as much for his interest, as others of his English friends thought it was against it; that the King and his Highness would ever be able to do one another more good and more harm than any other Princes could do either of them, by being friends or enemies: that it was a great step to be one degree nearer the Crown, and in all appearance the next: that for his friends (as they pretended in England) they must see much farther than I did, to believe the King in any such dangers or difficulties as they imagined: that the Crown of England stood upon surer foundations than ever it had done in former times, and the more for what had passed in the last reign; and that I believed the people would be found better subjects than perhaps the King himself believed them: that it was however in his power to be as well with them as he pleased, and to make as short turns to such an end; if not, yet, with the help of a little good husbandry, he might pass his reign in peace, though not perhaps with so much ease at home, or glory abroad, as if he fell into the vein of his people: that if the Court were of sentiments different from those of his Highness, yet his advisers would make him a greater compliment in believing him as likely to induce the Court to his, as in concluding they would bring him to theirs; and if that should happen, the most seditious men in England would be hard put to it to find an ill side in such a match. That, for the other point, I could say nothing to it, but that I

had always heard my wife and my sister speak with all the advantage that could be of what they could discern in a Princess so young, and more from what they had been told by the governess, with whom they had a particular friendship, and who, they were sure, took all the care that could be in so much of education as fell to her share.

After two hours discourse upon this subject, the Prince concluded he would enter upon this pursuit, and, in order to it, would write both to the King and the Duke, to beg their favour to him in it, and their leave that he might go over into England at the end of the campaign: that my wife, who was then going over upon my private affairs, should carry and deliver both his letters; and, during her stay there, should endeavour to inform herself the most particularly she could of all that concerned the person, humour, and dispositions of the young Princess, in which he seemed so much concerned.

Within two or three days after these discourses, the Prince brought his letters to my wife, and went immediately to the army; and she went suddenly after into England with those dispatches, and left me preparing for my journey to Nimeguen, where the Dutch first, and after them the French Ambassadors were arrived, and consequently those of the two principal parties in the war.

Before I went, Du Moulin met my chaplain in the Voorhout, and told him he was so ill, that he knew he had not long to live; and that he could not die in quiet without asking my pardon for so many false and injurious things as he confessed to have said of me since my last embassy in Holland, though he had before had all the esteem that could be for me. He desired my chaplain, since I had always refused to see him, that he would do this office for him, and ask my pardon as from a dying man. This Moulin, after having been much em-

ployed and favoured by my Lord Arlington during the counsels and vogue of the triple alliance, and disgraced by him after the change of those measures in England, went over into Holland, was entertained by the Prince as one of his secretaries, grew into great favour and confidence during the war, was made use of by the malecontents of England in their applications at the Hague; and was thought worth all my Lord Arlington's instances and endeavours when he was at the Hague, to remove him from the Prince's service. I received afterwards commands to the same purpose, and compassed it not without time and difficulty: he had not been long laid aside when this happened; and whether that, or the knowledge of the Prince's late resolution to pursue the match in England, helped to break his heart; or whether it were a consumption, as his friends gave out, I know not, but he died soon after, and with him the intrigues of that party in England, that had for some time employed him, and busied his friends in Holland.

After many delays in the dispatch and exchange of the passports, I got loose from the Hague about the beginning of July 1676, upon my journey to Nimeguen; where the French and Dutch Ambassadors, being already arrived, pressed very much for my coming, in regard Sir Lionel Jenkins excused himself from performing any acts or offices of the mediation till my arrival, and contented himself to pass only the usual visits. The dispositions I observed in the several parties towards the success of this congress, when I went in order to the opening of it, were very different, and very unlikely to draw it to any sudden issue; but only to attend and be governed by the successes of the several armies in the field, and the events expected from the actions of the campaign. The French

had given all the facility they could for some months past to the forming of the congress, and made all the haste they could for their Ambassadors to be upon the place, desiring no better peace than upon the present plan of affairs; and hoping by their forwardness, and the great backwardness of some of the allies, to make way for some separate treaties with those among them who began to be impatient for the peace. The House of Austria was sullen, as losers use to be, and so were very slow and resty in all their paces towards this treaty; the Germans hoping for great successes of their arms in this campaign, and the Spaniards flattering themselves with the interests his Majesty had in the preservation of Flanders, and with the part which the Parliament in England seemed of late to have taken in their affairs; and both were in hopes that something might arise from one of these sides, to make room for pretensions that could not be in countenance as things stood at present. The Swede was very earnest for a peace, as having more hopes of recovering himself that way than by the course of a war. Denmark and Brandenburg were violent for continuing the war, finding the Swedes weak, divided, and unrelievable by France any otherwise than with their moneys, and hoping to drive them this summer out of Germany. The States were very desirous of the peace, having no pretences of their own, but to get well out of a war that ruined their trade and drained their money; but they durst not break from their confederates, not trusting England enough, nor France at all, so as to leave themselves in a condition of depending upon either of them after the peace should be made. One general thread ran through the counsels on both sides; on the French, to break the confidence and union of the confederacy by different paces and advances to the se-

veral parties in the course of the treaty; on the confederates, to preserve the same confidence and union with which they had carried on the war, even after the peace should be made. His Majesty, though he was offered by some of the parties to be arbiter, as well as mediator, in the present differences; and was known by them all to have it in his power to make that figure as he pleased, yet chose the other, and gave us orders accordingly, only to perform the offices of a bare mediation; and to avoid the parties submitting their differences to his determination: so that, upon the whole, it was easy to foresee the congress would only prove a business of form; and proceed no otherwise than as it should be moved, or rather governed, by the events of the field.

However, the opening of it might well be called the dawn of a peace; which put me in mind of the only prophecy of this sort that I have ever thought worth taking notice of; nor should I have done so, but that Monsieur Colbert shewed it me at my coming to Nimeguen, and made me remember to have seen it in my Lord Arlington's hands in the year 1668, who told me it was very old, and had been found in some abbey of Germany. It was in these terms:

Lilium intrabit in terram leonis, feras in brachiis gerens; aquila movebit alas, et in auxilium veniet filius hominis ab austro: tunc erit ingens bellum per totum terrarum orbem; sed post quatuor annos pax elucescet, et salus erit filio hominis unde exitium putabatur.

"The lily shall invade the land of the lion, bearing wild beasts in its arms; the eagle shall move its wings, and the son of man shall come to his assistance from the south: then there shall be great war throughout the world; but after four

years peace shall dawn, and the son of man be delivered by those from whom his ruin was expected."

Those who have a mind to give credit to such prophecies from the course of events, must allow the leopards (the ancient arms of England) to be meant by the wild beasts; the King of Spain by the son of man; the congress at Nimeguen (four years after the war began) by the dawn of peace; and Spain's having been saved by the States and the Prince of Orange, by those from whom its ruin was expected. But I easily believe, that as most prophecies which run in the world arise from the contrivances of crafty, or the dreams of enthusiastical heads; and the sense of them (where there is any) lies wrapped up in mystical or incoherent expressions, fit to receive many sorts of interpretations; and some perhaps from the leisure of great wits that are ill employed, and seek diversion to themselves by writing things at random with the scornful thought of amusing the world about nothing; so others are broached for old, either after events happen, or when they are so probable as to be easily conjectured by foreseeing men: and it seems strange, that of the first kind (being so many) that no more happen to be fulfilled, with the help of so much inclination to believe, as well as so much invention to wrest the meaning of words to the sense pretended. But whether this I mention may not have been one of the last kind is uncertain; for in that very year it was produced, and given my Lord Arlington by a Frenchman (as he told me), the design of this war was not only laying, but well advanced by the practices of Mons. Colbert upon the Ministers of our Court (where he was then Ambassador), and by the violent humour of my Lord Clifford to enter into the leagues then projected by France; so that, the very day

the Parliament gave his Majesty a mighty sum of money, to compliment him upon so applauded a counsel and success as that of the triple alliance in the year 1668, that Lord, coming out of the House of Commons, where he was then a member, could not hold saying to a friend of mine who came out with him, That, for all this great joy, it must not be long before we have another war with Holland. And which of these two prophecies were the more to be considered, or the better inspired, I leave it to every one to guess as they please.

Nimeguen is seated upon the side of a hill, which is the last of Germany, and stoops upon the river Waal, which washes the lower part of the town, and divides it from the Betuwe, an island lying all upon flat low ground, between the Waal and the old Rhine, which was the ancient seat of those the Romans called Batavians, and, for their bravery and love of liberty, took into their confederacy, when they subjected all the neighbouring parts of Gaul and Germany. Betuwe and Waal were the ancient German names, and turned into Batavia and Vahalis by the Roman terminations, as Cologn and Cleves are Roman names changed into German. Betuwe signifies, in the old German, fat earth, as Veluwe (a great heathy country on the other side the Rhine) does coarse or barren earth. Whether Nimeguen came from Neomagum, or Neomagum from Nimeguen, I cannot determine; but the old castle, as well as many antiquities found about it, shew it to have been a colony of the Romans; and it is seated in very good air, encompassed on three sides by great and dry heaths, is well built, and inhabited by a good sort of people.

I excused myself from letting the magistrates of Nimeguen know what time I designed my arrival

there, though they sent to inform themselves while I was upon the way; and I refused any ceremonies at entry, to prevent that pretence in other Ambassadors, and the troubles and disturbances such public receptions might occasion. However, I could not escape some part of it, for which I had like to have paid a great deal more than it was worth. The river of Nimeguen is very rapid in the midst of the stream, which lies near the town, and spreads very broad upon the other side to the Betuwe, being upon flat grounds. The first part of it is passed by a very large ferry-boat, which held at once my two coaches and six horses, one waggon, and my trunks, eight saddle-horses, and would have received many more. This boat is of a contrivance so singular, as well as so commodious, that I have much wondered never to have seen it practised in any other place; for the force of the stream drives the boat cross the river without the least pains of the men, being kept to its course by a strong cable extended from one side to the other, and fastened to a pully set up for that purpose in the boat; so that no stress of weather hinders this passage, and the harder the stream runs, the sooner it is made. Where the river grows shallow, and the current slack, on the Betuwe side, it is supplied by a bridge of planks for about two hundred paces, which are ill kept, many loose or shaking, and no defence on the sides. When my coaches were upon this bridge, the cannon of the town began to fire, and so continued all the while I was upon the river; which was a piece of civility well understood; but my horses were so unruly with that noise, and the clatter of the planks, that they were much likelier to have carried me into the river than into the boat. But when, with the help of my servants on foot that led them, we got in there, we were safe as in a house, and got

well away to the town where I landed at Sir Lionel Jenkins' house, and staid there till late in the evening, to avoid any visits or ceremonies that night.

The next day I was visited by the French Ambassadors. With Monsieur d'Avaux passed little but what was common upon such occasions: but the Marshal d'Estrades and Monsieur Colbert being of my particular acquaintance in my former embassies at the Hague and Aix la Chapelle, they pretended, in their first separate visits, to enter with me upon points and terms of great confidence, and upon matters that gave me light into the whole design of France intended by the steps of this treaty, to which they had of late shewed so great forwardness, at least in the forming of this congress, and dispatch of their Ambassadors, before those of the allies were in any motion, or perhaps disposition towards it. They both told me, That they had express and private orders from the King their Master, to make me particular compliments upon the esteem his most Christian Majesty had for my person, and to make their application wholly to me in the course of this negotiation, though one of us Ministers Mediators came from residing in their own Court; but they knew very well I had the King my Master's confidence as well as that of his Ministers; and, that having had the framing of this congress from the first overtures, and through all the preliminaries, there was no other hand but mine capable of finishing it; and therefore they presaged me all the glory of it: that I might reckon upon all the facility their Master could give towards it; but that after such successes in the war, and at the head of so great forces both at land and sea, it could not be expected he should yield to restore what his arms had conquered. On the other side, they knew very well, that though the States were bent upon the peace, yet the forwardness or

extravagant demands of their allies would engage them as long as they could in the war, unless the Prince of Orange would interpose his authority, which was so great with all the allies, that they were sure of their consenting to whatever terms the Prince should be resolute in proposing for the peace: that, to draw it therefore to a happy issue, there was no way but for his Highness first to agree privately with France upon the conditions, and what every party should content themselves with; and afterwards, in the course of the treaty, to draw all things, by concert together, to the scope agreed between them; in which the Prince might make use of the known temper of the States to bring it to a sudden issue, and to make a separate peace, in case the unreasonable pretences of their allies should hinder or delay a general one: that this part was acted by the Elector of Bavaria at Munster, who was in private concert with France through the whole proceedings of that treaty, though he went on with the allies in the public transactions: that he owed the greatness of his House to this counsel, and to the consideration and support it had ever since received from the Crown of France: that, by pursuing the same at Nimeguen, it would be in the Prince of Orange's power to do the same for himself and his family; and that, for what concerned his own personal interests and advantages, their Master had given them power to assure him, he should have *carte blanche*, and draw his own conditions upon it: that though they had other ways of making this overture to the Prince, yet they had order to do it by none but me, if I would charge myself with it: that they knew the credit and confidence I was in with the Prince, and how far he would defer to my opinions in what concerned the public interests of his allies as well as his own: and that, if I would espouse this affair, be-

sides the glory of having alone given a peace to Christendom, I might reckon upon what I pleased myself from the bounty and generosity of the King their Master.

This was the sum of what was said by them both, though in several and private visits: but I observed Monsieur Colbert to have been instructed with more particular confidence, and to design it with me, even apart from both his colleagues and mine, in the pursuit of this intelligence; but Monsieur d'Estrades valued himself chiefly upon his entering into it with me preferable to all others, though he had several other ways of doing it with the Prince, as well as into what practices he should think fit with the States, by the help of so many friendships and habitudes as I knew he had contracted in Holland, during so long a course of employments there.

I answered, That I was obliged to his most Christian Majesty for his good opinion, and to them for having given it him, not having myself at all the honour of being known to him: that I should make no ill use of this great honour and confidence, whether I should be able to make a good one or not: that, for his Majesty's dispositions to promote the peace, they knew them as well as I; but that many considerations had engaged him to instruct us the Mediators only to promote a general peace, and not to enter into any paces towards any particular one, or separate, between the parties, which such a private and previous concert between France and the Prince of Orange would look very like; and therefore I did not see how I could enter upon it without particular orders from the King: that, besides, I would confess to them, that I did not think it would be of any great effect, if I should receive them; and that the best service I could do them (the Ambassadors) was to let them know very freely all that I knew, or at least thought, of the

Prince of Orange, and his dispositions in this great affair, that they might the better guess what paces to expect from him: that I was sure he desired the peace as much as the States could do; that the weak conduct of Spain, and distracted counsels of the Empire, were enough to force him upon it, withnot many other circumstances that were too well known to trouble them with: that the Prince knew very well there would be no difficulty at all in the terms of a peace between France and Holland, and that all would arise from their allies, who had entered into the war only in their defence: that their faith and honour were since engaged by many treaties concluded with them, and which hindered them from making any separate peace: that, in all those treaties, the Prince's honour was more particularly engaged, upon which personally the several confederate Princes were known to rely more, than upon any public resolution or instruments of the States: that, if any ways could be found, or offers made towards bringing his Highness out of this war, with the safety of his honour, by the satisfaction of his allies, upon any sort of terms, I was sure he would fall into them with all the joy that could be; but to break from them, against all faith and agreements, by separate measures, I believed he would never be induced, but by the last extremities of the war, or necessities at home: and that, for his own personal interests, I was confident no advantages to be offered him would ever be considered by his Highness, how great soever; but that two or three towns, more or less to the Spaniards, for the strength of their frontier in Flanders, would prevail more with him than all could be done for his interest in Orange or Burgundy; and that all other propositions of advantages more than were avowed in the course of the treaty were, I believed, what he would take ill from any that should make them;

and yet, whenever I saw him next, I would tell him of all that had passed in this conversation: but, for the deference they believed his Highness might have for my sentiments, I would assure them, my opinion was, he had none for mine, or any man's else, further than as their arguments prevailed upon his judgment: that he had sense enough to govern himself, and I believed he would always trust to it, though he might advise with other men.

After these conversations, during the time I staid at Nimeguen, Monsieur Colbert made many small attacks of this kind upon me, and sometimes contented himself only to let fall some things in conversation, to try if I was disposed to enter further upon that subject: but the Mareschal d'Estrades immediately after began to turn his battery another way, which was upon the Pensioner Fagel, by the intervention of a person of Maestricht, many of whose letters the Pensioner shewed me upon the same occasion; and with all the offers that could be made of consideration and advantage to the interests of the Prince of Orange; which met with no other reception from his Highness than what I foretold.

After the first visits between us and the French and Dutch Ambassadors, whom only we found at Nimeguen, we received a visit from the magistrates of the town, who told us, they had order from the States to remit the government of the city to our disposition, during the present treaty; and to proceed no otherways in it, than according to such orders as they should receive from us the Mediators. We told them, it was his Majesty's pleasure, that we should not at all intermeddle with it, but that, on the contrary, we should consign into the hands of the ordinary justice of the town any of our domestics that should be guilty of any crime against the peace and government of the place; and that

justice should be done upon them according to their faults; and that we should not take upon us to withdraw or protect them from the ordinary course of justice, by the rights and privileges of that character his Majesty had given us.

After this we applied ourselves to propose some regulations for the order and quiet of so numerous an assembly as this was like to prove (in a town but too strait, and composed of narrow streets), and to the establishment of some compass of neutral country about it, for the convenience and divertisement of the company that should compose it. For the first, we gave in a paper to the French and Dutch Ambassadors, with certain articles, to which we desired their consent; not doubting, but all others, that should come after, would easily fall into what they should previously agree to upon our desire. They were these, as we gave them in French, the language used in all conferences, and most papers, that passed in this treaty.

1. *Que pour éviter les inconveniens qui pourroient arriver par le grand nombre de trains dans des rues, qui sont si étroites, & entre des coins si incommodes, les Ambassadeurs Mediateurs proposent, de ne faire les visites, mesme celles de ceremonie, qu'avec chacun Ambassadeur deux pages & quatre laquais, & un carosse à deux chevaux; & de n'aller à aucune place de conference, ou autres lieux publics avec plus d'un page & deux laquais à chaque Ambassadeur.*

2. *Qu'en cas de rencontre de carosses dans les lieux trop éstroits pour le passage de l'un & de l'autre, chacun, au-lieux de s'embarrasser pour le pas, y*

1. That for avoiding the inconveniences which may happen by the great number of trains in the streets, which are so narrow, and turnings so incommodious, the Ambassadors Mediators propose, not to make any visits, even those of ceremony, with more than two pages and four lackeys each Ambassador; and one coach with two horses; and not to go to any place of conference, or other public places, with more than one page and two lackeys to every Ambassador.

2. That when coaches meet in too narrow places, where there is not room to pass by one another, every one, instead of contending for precedency,

apportera toute sorte de facilité, & s'arrestera le premier quand il sera le premier averti que le passage est trop éstroit, & fera place en cas que de son costé cela se trouve le plus facile.

shall mind rather to make the passage easy to each other, and stop first if he have the first notice that the passage is too strait, and give place to the other, in case it be more easy on his side.

3. *Que les laquais ne porteront éspée, baton, ni baguette, par les rues; ni les pages plus que de baguette seulement.*

3. That lackeys shall not wear a sword, nor carry a staff, or stick, in the streets; nor pages any more than a little stick.

4. *Que les Ambassadeurs sur aucun crime commis par aucun de leurs domestiques contre la paix publique, renonceront à la protection des dits domestiques, & les remettront aussitost entre les mains de la Justice de la ville, la prians & autorisans de proceder contre eux selon les regles ordinaires.*

4. That the Ambassadors, upon any crime committed against the public peace, by any of their domestics, shall renounce all protection of the said domestics, and deliver them up into the hands of the magistrates of the city; desiring and authorising them to proceed against them according to their ordinary rules.

5. *Qu'en cas de quelque insulte ou quérelle faite par aucun de leurs domestiques contre ceux d'aucun autre Ambassadeur ou Ministre public, les Ambassadeurs remettront tels domestiques entre les mains du maistre de la partie offensée, pour estre punis à sa discretion.*

5. That in case any insult or quarrel be made by the domestics of one Ambassador, against those of another Ambassador or public Minister, the Ambassadors shall deliver up such of their domestics into the hands of the master of the party offended, to be punished at his discretion.

The French Ambassadors received this paper with much approbation and compliment to us upon the design and conception of it, and said they were ready to give their full consent to every part of it, excepting only the second article; but upon this they could not, without first acquainting their Master, from whom they had orders to maintain, upon all occasions, the rank that Spain had yielded to them by treaty; so that they could not stop or make way for the Ministers of that Crown, though they would do it for those of Brandenburg. We

told them, we doubted not but the Emperor's Ambassadors would be content to fall into the general rule for so good an end; and that for ourselves the Mediators (who were out of all competition by that quality), yet we resolved to practise it with the rest, and give the example.

The French Ambassadors seemed satisfied in their own opinions; but, however, desired they might first communicate it to their Court. The Dutch Ambassadors wholly approved of it, and resolved to conform their practices accordingly, unless they found other Ambassadors should decline it. However, about a fortnight after, the French Ambassadors, upon dispatches from their Court, began to change their language; and told us, that, for the first article, Monsieur de Pompone thought it not necessary to restrain the numbers of Ambassadors trains, since they were well provided against disorders by the following articles: that, besides, this would in a manner level the Ambassadors of the greatest Kings with the Ministers of smaller Princes, at least in the eyes of the *menu peuple* [the vulgar], who measure the dignity of persons by the train that attend them. For the second article, they consented to it, with an apostyle of their own upon it, providing, that it should not prejudice the rights of any Princes, nor ever be drawn into consequence in any other place or time. We found by these answers, that the French Ambassadors had less vanity than their Court, and wondered to find it so avowed, and to descend to circumstances so low and so minute: for though vanity be a weakness, or a fault, that the fewest men are without; yet it is that, of all others, that the fewest will own; and few private men, though perhaps affected with the gazes and opinion of the rabble that fill the streets as they pass, will yet pretend or confess to consider them. However, we

thought best to let it pass, and the rather because we knew it was no more the sense of the French Ambassadors than ours; for which they had one more particular reason, which was the noise that ran of the magnificent preparations and equipage designed by the Marquis de Balbaces and Count Antoine towards their appearance in this congress; the first whereof was one of the richest subjects of Spain, heir and descendant of the famous Spinola; and the other had great revenues from the Duke of Oldenburg (being his natural son) and was chosen by Denmark on purpose to appear with lustre in this embassy: and the French Ambassadors apprehended either being outshined by these at their arrival, or being engaged in greater expences upon the vye than they expected from their Court; which usually leaves those kinds of services to future rewards by succeeding employments and advances, rather than present supplies. When we received this answer from them, we only said Monsieur Pompone's reasoning from the *menu peuple* [the vulgar] seemed a little below the greatness of his Master, or the style of a great Minister; but that we should acquaint the Dutch Ambassadors with it, that they might be at liberty to retract the consent they had already given, since they, the French, seemed to have done so; but that, for ourselves, we would observe at least the rules we had proposed to others, and let them follow either the rules or examples as they pleased. The French would by no means allow to have refused them, and said, they had only told us Monsieur Pompone's reflections upon them; but that they could not absolutely consent till they had concerted with their allies, the Swedish Ambassadors, whose arrival they daily expected. However, though they were by these wholly approved, yet the French Ambassadors, during the assembly, made all their first visits

with the three several Ambassadors coaches and six horses, and the whole number of their train; which sometimes reached further than the space between their houses and of the Ministers where the visit was paid. But we continued to make ours only with two horses, and the number of servants we had proposed; and the rest of the rules were observed by all with so good effect, that, for one whole year I resided there together, there never happened any disorder or complaint from so numerous trains.

For the neutral country, we at first proposed by concert with the French Ambassadors, to extend it about three leagues, so as to take in the town of Cleves, which has been always celebrated for one of the pleasantest seats of Germany; but, upon transmitting this proposal to the French Court, a resolution came back to their Ambassadors, to admit only two leagues from Nimeguen, and that to continue subject to contribution, and to execution upon failure of that being paid, as was usual to the garrison of Maestricht. This we thought unpracticable with the safety of the Ambassadors or their retinues, that should make use of a neutrality subject to inroads of armed troops, upon pretence of contribution, and admitted of many disputes. The French Ambassadors had orders from their Court to go out of town, upon any occasion of airing and entertainment: the Dutch desired us to let the French know, the States could not be answerable for their doing it safely, till a neutral country were established, without being liable to contribution. After some time, rather than continue prisoners to the town, or venture the inconvenience and danger of parties ranging within the bounds of a neutral country, a compass was agreed, about two English miles from the town; and marked out with several great posts erected to that purpose, within which

all persons should have liberty, and no soldier should be suffered to come in upon any pretext whatsoever.

Several pretensions were raised at the opening of this congress (which was reckoned from the time of two Mediators arrival upon the place) about the right of several Princes to send Ambassadors, and many disputes arose upon them. It had been agreed at the treaty of Munster, that every Elector should be allowed to send a Minister thither, with the character of Ambassador; but, if they sent more than one in commission, that the first only should be treated with Excellence, and other ceremonies of Ambassadors. This rule we agreed to follow at Nimeguen: and the Elector of Brandenburg sent two Ambassadors thither; but we treated the first only with the usual ceremonies, and left the other to his pretences and complaints. The French followed our example; and the other Ambassadors did some one, some the other, according as their interests engaged them to comply with that Elector in this pretence.

Upon admission of the Electors to send Ambassadors to the congress, the same pretence was soon after raised by the Dukes of Lorrain, Neuburg, and Lunenburg: much altercation was used upon this subject; but the precedents alleged not being found without dispute, the thing lay quiet, and their Envoys arrived after some time at Nimeguen.

We agreed, neither to give the first visit, nor the hand in our houses, to any character under that of Ambassador; nor to other persons of quality, that were not either Counts of the Empire, or general officers of armies.

There was no dispute about the rank with the Mediators, the French having first yielded it by order of their Court, till the Imperialists came, who neither yielded nor refused it, but seemed desirous

to have that mark of distinction allowed between the Emperor's Ambassadors and those of all other crowned heads. We held on our pretence of it from these, as well as the rest; but kept it from coming to any decision till the very signing of the treaty; finding the Emperor not inclined to yield it, and knowing that, if it were refused there, the admission granted by the rest might come to be retracted upon that example.

The other Ambassadors were left to their usual pretences: the French, that all should yield to them; and the rest, of none yielding to one another; in which the Swedes carried the point, even with their allies the French, as nicely and positively as any others.

The Swedes arrived about the middle of August, sent first to us, and then to the French, to notify their arrival. This happened late in the evening; so we deferred our compliments and desires of an hour till next morning. The French made theirs the same night to Monsieur Oxenstiern, the first in commission, who gave them an honr the next morning; and to our Secretaries, who came to them about that time, they gave an hour in the afternoon. The visits were made accordingly: but, upon our insisting that the first visit ought to be returned to the Mediators, from whomsoever the first should be received; the Swedish Ambassadors, after some time to consider it, determined the point, and made us the first visit, though the French had first made it to them. And this was observed by the Ambassadors that afterwards arrived, during my residence there.

I remember no other points of the ceremonial, that seem to have been established by the course of this assembly, unless it was one particular to ourselves, who declared that we would dine with no Ambassador till the peace was concluded, being de-

sirous to avoid the troubles and engagements of perpetual invitations, as well as the unkindness of excuses at one time, or to some person more than another; but our own tables were open, each of us three days in the week, two post-days being reserved to ourselves for business, and one for diversion or exercise abroad; and several of the Ambassadors, especially the French, came to our tables, notwithstanding this resolution, which they seemed to take a little to heart. But, to make amends, we divided the nights by turns. Where there were any ladies in the Ambassadors houses, and where the evenings were spent in dancing or play, or careless and easy suppers or collations; in these entertainments, as I seldom failed of making a part, and my colleague never had any, so it gave occasion for a good saying that passed upon it, *Que la mediation estoit tousjours en pied pour faire sa function*, [That the mediation was always in a posture to go on with its business;] for I used to go to bed and rise late; while my colleague was a-bed by eight, and up by four: and to say truth, two more different men were never joined in one commission, nor agreed better in it.

For business, there was very little for many months after the congress began, till the arrival of the Imperial Ministers; only the French Ambassadors, soon after my coming, demanding an audience, came to make us the offer of exhibiting their *plein-pouvoirs* [full powers] into our hands, not doubting, as they said, of the Dutch being ready to do the same. But, upon our acquainting the Dutch Ambassadors with this overture, they told us, that it was in the choice of the French Ambassadors to do it when they pleased, but they did not conceive the hastening of it would gain any time, since they had no orders to make that pace without a previous concert with their allies; and consequently,

though the French should do it, yet they would, at present, neither exhibit their own, nor make any reflections (as might be necessary) upon those of the French. From this answer, the French took occasion to press the Dutch extremely upon making instances to all their allies to hasten to the treaty, or else to declare that they would enter into affairs without them; and not without some intimation of their Master's being resolved to recall them, in case this was refused, or much longer delayed. The Dutch excused the retardments given to the treaty so long, by the many difficulties raised by the French Court upon occasion of the passports, which were not yet dispatched to some of their new allies; but, however, promised to acquaint the States with these instances, and endeavour to dispose them to fix some time, by which they would order their Ambassadors to enter into matter, unless the Ministers of the allies were arrived at Nimeguen.

In these, and several other points, interceding between the French and Dutch Ambassadors, we carried the proposals and answers from one to the other, at their houses, by word of mouth; which continued till the assembly was completed, and a place of conference, with much difficulty, agreed at the Stadthouse of Nimeguen; where, after many difficulties between the two confederacies, and many more between the parties that composed each of them, two chambers were at length agreed for the parties, and one for the mediators, by which our pains were lessened, but without other advantage; nor was there any point that gave us more trouble than the adjusting this among the parties: for the French were, from the very first, most declaredly averse from treating, either by writings, or from agreeing to a place of public conference; conceiving this would tend to keep the body of the confederacy united in the treaty, as well as the war;

whereas their design was to break that union here, which they could not in the field, and find some way or other of entering into separate measures for a peace with some of the parties engaged. In the mean time the allies found, or took, as many occasions as they could, of delaying the dispatch of their Ministers to the congress, while they had hopes of hindering the Dutch from proceeding without them; and that they believed might be done till this campaign should end; from the events whereof the several Princes might the better take their measures for the conditions of a peace that should be proposed or insisted on in this treaty. And this disposition of theirs was so well pursued, that no other Ambassadors arrived at Nimeguen till November; though we and the French, and the Dutch, had been so long upon the place, and the Swedes soon after us.

In the mean time the successes of the campaign, that were expected absolutely to govern the motions of the treaty, were various as to the gross of the war, but ran as high to the advantage of the French, as to the disadvantage of the Swedish affairs. By force of great treasures, and great order in disposing them, the French magazines were always filled in the winter, so as to enable them to take the field as they pleased in the spring, without fearing the weather for their foot, or expecting grass for their horse. On the other side, the Spaniards want of money and order, left their troops in Flanders, neither capable to act by themselves, upon any sudden attempt, nor to supply with provisions in their march either Dutch or Germans that should come to their relief. Their towns were ill fortified, and worse defended; so that the King of France, marching in the head of a brave and numerous army, took Condé in four days, in the month of April, this year 1676, before any of the confede-

rates were in the field; and in May sent the Duke of Orleans to besiege Bouchain, with some part of his troops, being a small though strong place, and very considerable for its situation to the defence of the Spanish Netherlands. The King, with the strength of his army, posted himself so advantageously, as to hinder the Prince of Orange from being able to relieve it, or to fight without disadvantage.

The Prince struggled through all the difficulties from the season, or want of provisions and magazines in Flanders, and marched with his army in sight of the French King by the middle of May. The armies continued some days facing one another, and several times drawing out in order to a battle, which neither of them thought fit to begin; whether not willing to hazard, without necessity or advantage, so decisive an action as this was like to prove; or whether the French contented themselves to carry their point by hindering the relief of Bouchain, which must fall without it; while the Prince of Orange was withheld by the Spaniards from pursuing his, which was to give a battle that the Spaniards knew could not be lost without the loss of Flanders. The armies continued facing one another till Bouchain was surrendered the eighth day of the siege. The Prince returned to refresh his army, harassed with so hasty a march upon so sudden preparations; and the King of France returned home, leaving his army under the Marshal de Schomberg, to attend the motions of the enemies. The Prince fell into concert with the Spaniards and German Princes near the Lower Rhine for the siege of Maestricht; which, though the strongest of the Dutch frontiers when it was taken, had been yet fortified by the French since they possessed it, with all the advantages of art and expence, and with a garrison of eight thousand chosen men, under Cal-

vo, a resolute Catalonian, who commanded there under the Marshal d'Estrades governor of the place, but then at Nimeguen.

About the end of July the trenches were opened by the Prince, and the siege carried on with such bravery, so many and desperate assaults, for about three weeks; that as wagers were continually offered, with odds, at Nimeguen, that it would be taken within such or such a time, so we did not observe the Marshal d'Estrades was willing to take them, or seemed at all confident it would be so well defended. The Prince, and the Rhingrave (who was designed for governor of the town, as his father had been), were ever in the head of the attacks; and made great use, as well as proof, of the desperate courage of the English troops, upon all those occasions: many of the outworks were taken, with great slaughter on both sides; but were supplied by new retrenchments, and by all the art and industry of a resolute captain, and brave soldiers within. About the middle of August, the Prince, exposing himself upon all occasions, received a musket-shot in his arm; at which perceiving those about him were daunted, he immediately pulled off his hat with the arm that was hurt, and waved it about his head, to shew the wound was but in the flesh, and the bone safe; at which they all revived, and the Prince went on without interruption in all the paces of the siege. But a cruel sickness falling into his army, weakened it more than all the assaults they had given the town. The Germans came not up with the supplies they had promised, and upon which assurance the siege was undertaken; and the Rhingrave, who, next the Prince, was the spring of this action, happening to be wounded soon after, was forced to leave the camp for a castle in the neighbourhood, where he died: by all which the army grew disheartened, and the siege

faint. In the mean time, Monsieur de Schomberg, who trusted to a vigorous defence at Maestricht, had besieged and taken Aire; and, after the Prince's army was weakened by the accidents of the siege, marched with all the French forces through the heart of the Spanish Low-Countries, to the relief of Maestricht; upon whose approach, and the resolutions of a council of war in the Prince's camp, the siege was raised, and with it the campaign ended in the Dutch or Spanish provinces. And from this time the Prince of Orange began to despair of any success in the war, after such trials and experience of such weakness in the Spanish forces and conduct, and uncertainty in the German counsels or resolutions.

However, the Imperial army took Philipsburg in the end of September this year 1676; which was yielded for want of provisions, and as much against common opinion and expectation, as the contrary event in the siege of Maestricht.

The affairs of Denmark and Brandenburg prospered all this while against Sweden, with advantage in most of the sieges and encounters that passed this summer, and the first part of the winter following, so that the Swedes seemed to be losing apace all they had so long possessed in Germany: but the Imperial forces, though joined by those of the several Princes upon the Upper Rhine, had made no progress in their designed conquests there, and were forced to seek their old quarters on the German side of the Rhine upon the approach of the French, which was a true and undisputed decision of the small success of this campaign.

After it was ended, the parties engaged in the war began to turn their thoughts, or at least their eyes, more towards the motions of the treaty than they had hitherto done. The Prince of Orange writ to me, desired to see me for a day or two at

Soesdyck near Amersfort, about a day's journey from Nimeguen. He complained much, and with too much reason, of the conduct of his allies; the weakness, or rather uselessness, of the Spanish troops in Flanders, for want of pay or order; the Imperial armies acting without design upon the Rhine, or with dependence upon orders from Vienna, where the emulation of the Ministers made such distraction, and counter-paces of their Generals, that the campaign had passed with small effect, after the promises of vigorously invading either Lorrain or France: how the Dukes of Lunenburg had failed of sending their troops to Maestricht; which, with the sickness of the camp, had rendered that siege ineffectual: so that he began to despair of any good issue of the war; and would be glad to hear I hoped for a better of the peace, upon our scene at Nimeguen, after the paces and progress whereof he made particular enquiries. I told him how little advances had been hitherto made, by the slowness of his allies dispatching their Ministers thither; how little success could be expected from the pretensions of the parties when they should meet; especially France pretending to keep all they had got by the war, and Spain to recover all they had lost; how his Majesty seemed of the mind to concern himself no further than the paces of a mediator, our orders being only to convey the mind or proposals of the parties from one to another, and even to avoid the offers of any references upon them to his Majesty's determination; so that my opinion was, that it must be the war alone that must make the peace, and that I supposed it would do at one time or other, by the weakness or weariness of one of the parties.

The Prince seemed of my mind, and said, the events of the war would depend upon the conduct at Madrid and Vienna before next campaign; for,

without some great successes, he did not believe the States would be induced to continue it longer. I told the Prince the discourses Monsieur Colbert had entertained me with upon my arrival at Nimeguen, in which his Highness was chiefly concerned. Upon which he replied coldly, he had heard enough of the same kind another way, which Monsieur d'Estrades had found out to Pensioner Fagel; but that they knew him little that made him such overtures; and, for his own interests or advantages, let them find a way of saving his honour, by satisfying Spain, and nothing of his concerns should retard the peace an hour.

After my return to Nimeguen, I found the French making all the advances they could towards the progress of the treaty; and they were (no doubt) in earnest: being in a posture to insist upon their present possessions, and having made a great hand of this last campaign, they were willing, like gamesters that have won much, to give over, unless obliged to play on by those that had lost. The Swedes were more in haste and in earnest for the peace than any, hoping no resource for their losses in Germany by the war. The Dutch were grown impatient for the peace, finding France would make no difficulty of any thing between them, offering privately by their emissaries, especially at Amsterdam, such a reglement of commerce as they could desire, the restitution of Maestricht, and of all satisfaction the Prince of Orange could pretend upon his losses, or their seizures in the war. But Denmark and Brandenburg were as violent against the peace, having swallowed up in their hopes all that Sweden had possessed in Germany: and though the Emperor seemed to pretend little after the taking of Philipsburg, besides the restitution of Lorrain and the towns of Alsace to the posture they were left in by

the Munster treaty, yet they were so fast linked, both with their German allies and with Spain, that they resolved to make no paces in the treaty but by common concert: and Spain, though sensible of the condition their affairs in Flanders were in, as well as in Sicily, yet upon a design then hatching at Madrid, for removal of the Queen-Regent and her Ministry, to introduce Don John to head the affairs of their government, had conceived great hopes to recover those desperate infirmities that their inveterate disorders both in counsels and conduct, especially in their finances, had for so long time occasioned. Besides, they had confidences still given them from their Ministers in England, that his Majesty would not, after all, be contented to see Flanders lost, or would be forced into the war by the humour of his Parliament. For these reasons the allies seemed to make no haste at all to the congress, and some of them hardly to look that way; and none of the parties were yet arrived, besides the French, the Swedes, and the Dutch: but about the end of September the French Ambassadors gave us notice, that their Master, having made so many advances towards peace, and being so ill seconded by the proceedings of the confederates, and their slowness in coming to the treaty, was resolved to recall his Ambassadors, unless those of the chief confederates should repair to Nimeguen within the space of one month.

This we communicated to the Dutch Ambassadors, and they to the States; who, after some conferences with the Ministers of their allies, came to a resolution that they would enter upon the treaty themselves, if the Ministers of their confederates should not repair to Nimeguen by the first of November; which was afterwards, upon some disputes, declared to be meant old style, being that of the place where the congress was held.

The noise of this resolution of the States was more, among their allies, than the danger, since there were ways enough to raise difficulties, and spin out time, after the Ambassadors should arrive, as well as before; but yet it had so much effect, that the several confederates did upon it begin to hasten away one or other of their intended Ambassadors towards Nimeguen (as Count Kinski from Vienna, Don Pedro Ronquillo from England, where he then resided as Spanish Envoy), but not the persons principally intrusted, or at the head of their embassies; nor with powers to proceed further than preliminaries; and from Denmark Monsieur Heug, without any news of Count Antoine's preparation, who was appointed chief of that embassy; any more than of the Bishop of Gurck, or Marquis de Balbaces, the chiefest of those designed from the Emperor and Spain.

In the mean time the Dutch began to lay load upon their allies, for their backwardness, so declared, in making any paces towards the treaty; to cavil upon the obligations they were under of so many great subsidies to so many Princes their allies, for carrying on a war which the allies pursued for their own separate interests or ambition, though entered into perhaps at first for defence of Holland, with whose safety theirs were complicated. Hereupon their Ministers, both at the Hague and Nimeguen, took the liberty to say publicly, and upon several occasions, and in several companies, that their Masters would pay no subsidies to their allies the next campaign, unless, in the mean time, they would, by their fair and sincere proceedings in the treaty, put the French in the wrong, as their expression was.

The Swedes had, as well as the French, offered to deliver us their powers; but this was deferred by the Dutch to the arrival of their allies, till after

the first of November was elapsed. The French began to press them upon it, in consequence of the States resolution; and, after some little demurs, the Dutch Ambassadors agreed to deliver theirs. So by concert, not without difficulty, we agreed, that on the 21st of November the several powers should be brought to us the mediators, by the several Ambassadors, at such hours as they should severally take from us; should be deposited in our hands; and that we should afterwards communicate the originals mutually to the several Ambassadors at their houses, and leave copies with them, attested by us the mediators.

This was done accordingly; and the morning after, the Dutch Ambassadors brought us an account of several exceptions they were forced to make against several expressions in the French and Swedish prefaces to their powers; which they said were fitter for manifestoes than for powers of a treaty, especially those of justifying the war and maintaining the treaty of Westphalia. But the greatest stress they laid was upon a clause in the French powers, mentioning the Pope's mediation, which they said their Masters could never consent to now, no more than they had at Munster. To say truth, though the gaining of time for the allies coming might have some part in these exceptions of the Dutch, yet they were framed with great art, and shewed the great quickness and sharpness of Monsieur Van Beverning's apprehension, as well as his skill and experience in these kind of affairs; being, I think, without dispute, the most practised and the ablest Ambassador of any I have ever met in the course of my employments.

The Dutch exceptions were returned, by others from the French and Swedes, against their powers; but with offer from both of entering into the treaty while these matters should be adjusting. The

Dutch accepted it, provided the French would oblige themselves to procure new powers, free from the exceptions raised against them, as the Dutch offered to do. After much debate, they all agreed in desiring us, the mediators, to draw up a form of powers to be used by all the parties: we did it, and it was approved by them all; with some reserve only from the French, whether it would be fit to mention any mediation, since that of the Pope's was left out; and some little tentatives upon us, whether we would be content to leave out all mention of his Majesty's mediation, as well as that of the Pope's? This we excused ourselves from doing, the whole frame of the congress having proceeded from his Majesty's mediation, without any intervention of the Pope's; and the King's having been accepted by all the parties, which the Pope's had not been; but on the contrary, the very mention of it, in the powers, declared against by several of them. And, by orders we received from Court upon occasion of this dispute, we declared to all the parties, that though his Majesty pretended not to exclude any other mediation that the parties should think fit to use, yet he could not in any wise act jointly with that of the Pope; nor suffer his Ministers to enter into any commerce, either of visits or conferences, with any of his that might be employed at Nimeguen.

In November arrived Monsieur Heug, one of the Danish Ambassadors; Monsieur Somnitz and Blaspyl, the two Brandenburg Ambassadors; Lord Berkley from Paris; and, soon after, Don Pedro Ronquillo, one of the Spanish Ambassadors; but the last continued *incognito* till the arrival of Count Kinski, who, whether he had taken the gout, or the gout had taken him, continued upon that pretence at Cologne till the new year was begun.

The Spanish Ambassador coming upon visits to

my wife, and meeting me there, found that way of entering into the present business of the scene, as much as if he had been declared upon it. He agreed with the French in this one point, of desiring either the Pope's mediation might be mentioned in their powers, or that his Majesty, in consideration of the peace, would suffer the mention of his to be left out: but the Dane, on the other side, agreed with the Dutch, in refusing to admit any power with mention of the Pope's mediation. There arose likewise another difficulty, from a seeming expedient proposed by the Dutch, of having from each party several powers granted for treating with the several parties they were in war with; which the French refused, or to grant other powers than for the Dutch and their allies: and in these disputes or difficulties the year 1676 ended.

I enter not at all into the detail, or so much as mention, of the many incidents that fell into the course of this treaty upon punctilio's of visits or ceremonials; because they seem to me but so many impertinencies that are grown this last age into the character of Ambassadors; having been raised and cultivated by men who, wanting other talents to value themselves in those employments, endeavoured to do it by exactness or niceties in the forms; and besides, they have been taken notice of by discourses concerning this treaty, and at one time or other may be exactly known by the original papers of our embassy, which are in two or three several hands: whereas I intend chiefly to declare the course of this great affair by the more material circumstances, and from the true springs of those events that succeeded, rather than trouble myself with the forms that served to amuse so long this assembly at Nimeguen.

I shall only make two observations upon the ceremonial: the first is upon the Emperor's conduct

towards the Brandenburg Ambassadors; allowing his Ministers to treat them both like Ambassadors of crowned heads, though we gave it only to the first of the embassy upon the precedent of the Munster treaty, and were followed in it by the French and Swedes in the whole course of this treaty at Nimeguen. This pace of the Emperor seemed not so much grounded, as some thought, upon his compliance with so considerable an ally, as upon a design to assist another pretension of his own, which is, not only a difference of place, but also of rank, from all other crowned heads of Christendom: whereas the other Kings, though they yield him the place, yet they do not allow him a difference of rank. But if the Emperor could, by his example, prevail with other Kings to treat the Electors like crowned heads, it would fortify the pretensions of the Emperor to a difference of rank; since there is a great one, and out of all contest, between him and the Electors.

My second remark is, that, among all the punctilio's between the Ambassadors at Nimeguen, none seemed to me to carry them to such heights as the Swedes and the Danes; the first standing as stiff upon all points of not seeming to yield in the least to the French Ambassadors, though their allies, and from a Crown not only of so mighty power, but from whom alone they expected the restoring of their broken state in Germany: and the Danish Ambassador, upon the French powers being exhibited in French, said he would give his in Danish, unless they would do it in Latin, as a common language; alledging he knew no difference between crowned heads; that the Danish Kings had been as great as the French are now, and in their present dominions are as absolute. Upon all which Monsieur Van Beverning could not forbear to reflect, and say to us, that in his remembrance there

was no sort of competition made by those two Northern Kings with the other three great Kings of Christendom: that the treatment of the States to them was very different, and their Ministers made no difficulty of signing any instruments after the Ministers of the three great Crowns. It is, I think, out of question, that the pretension of parity among the crowned heads was first made in the North by Gustavus, when he told Monsieur Gramont, the French Ambassador in Sweden upon this occasion, that for his part he knew no distinction among crowned heads, but what was made by their virtue; and this pretence was not much disputed with him, in respect to the greatness of his qualities, as well as of his attempts and successes; and his example was followed by the Kings of Denmark, and has since left place a thing contested among them all. It is true the French have claimed the precedence next to the Emperor, with more noise and haughtiness than the rest, but have been yielded to by none except the Spaniards, upon the fear of a war they were not able to deal with; nor have they since been willing to own the weakness of that concession, but have chosen to fall into what measures they could of encouraging and establishing the pretence of parity among crowned heads. The most remarkable instance of this happened at Nimeguen; where, upon a public meeting of the allies, the dispute arising between Spain and Denmark for the place at table, Don Pedro consented to have it taken by turns, and the first to be decided by lot. The French Ambassadors made their pretence of preference next the mediators at Nimeguen, in the first return of their visits from Ambassadors arriving; but it was neither yielded to by Swede or Dane, nor practised by the Emperor's Ambassadors, who made their first visit to the mediators, and the next without distinction

to the first that had visited them. The Emperor took advantage of the French, as well as the rest, having yielded to the mediators; and during this treaty made a scruple, though not a refusal, of doing it; by which he distinguished himself from the other crowned heads. We were content to keep it, as much as we could, from decision with them; but it once happened, that, upon a meeting with the allies at the Dane's house, Count Kinski was there before I and Sir Lionel came into the room, where chairs were set for all the Ambassadors. After the common salutations, I went straight up to the chair that was first in rank, and stood before it, to sit down when the rest were ready; but my colleague, either losing his time by being engaged in longer civilities, or by a desire not to be engaged in contests, gave room to Count Kinski (a very brisk man) to come and stand before the chair that was next me, and consequently between me and my colleague: when I saw this, and considered, that, though the place was given me by the Imperialists, yet it was not given to the King's embassy; I chose not to sit down; but falling into the conference that was intended, I stood all the while as if I did it carelessly, and so left the matter undecided.

The Prince of Orange, about the latter end of December, writ very earnestly to me, to make a step, for some few days, to the Hague, knowing I had leave from his Majesty to do it when I thought fit. And, finding all things without present motion at Nimeguen, I went thither, and arrived the last day of the year. The first of the next, being 1677, I attended his Highness: we fell into large discourses of the progress of the treaty, the coldness of the parties, the affected delays of the Imperialists and Spaniards, the declared aversion of the Danes and Brandenburg; and concluded how

little was to be expected from the formal paces of this congress. Upon all which the Prince asked, if I had heard any more of his Majesty's mind upon the peace, since I had been last with him? I told him what I remembered of his last letter to me upon that subject; which was, that he concluded from the Prince's discourses to me, that he had then no mind to a peace; that he was sorry for it, because he thought it was his interest to have it: that he had tried to know the mind of France upon it; but if they would not open themselves farther on one side, nor his Highness on the other, than they had yet done, he would content himself with performing only his part of mediator, and in the common forms. The Prince said, this looked very cold, since his Majesty was alone able to make the peace, and knew well enough what it would come to by the forms of the congress: that, for his own part, he desired it, and had a great deal of reason; both because his Majesty seemed to do so, and to think it his own interest as well as the Prince's; and because the States not only thought it their interest, but absolutely necessary for them: that he would not say this to any but to the King by me; because if France should know it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the terms: that both Spain and the Emperor had less mind to it now than they had at the end of the last campaign; the new Ministers being less inclined to it than the old had been; so that there was not one of the allies that had any mind to it besides the States: that, for his own part, he should be always in the same mind with them, and therefore very much desired it, but did not know which way to go about it, at least so as to compass it before the next campaign; and, if that once began, they should be all at sea again, and should be forced to go just as the wind should drive them: that if his Majesty

had a mind to make it, and would let him know freely the conditions upon which either he desired or believed it might be made, he would endeavour to concert it the best he could with his Majesty, and that with all the freedom and sincerity in the world; so it might be done with any safety to his own honour, and the interests of his country.

All this he desired me to write directly to his Majesty from him, as he knew I had not only leave, but command to do, upon any occasion that I thought deserved it.

Two days after, I saw the Pensioner Fagel upon some common affairs incident to my embassy at the Hague, which had been left in the hands of the secretary of that embassy. When these discourses were past, he asked me if I had brought them peace from Nimeguen? I replied, that since he was so ignorant of what had passed there, I would tell him, that they had carried their matters there *en habiles gens* [like able men]: that, to bring their allies to the congress, they had pretended to treat by the first of November, whether they came or no: that after that day passed, they had found fault with the powers exhibited, had offered at new, made the mediators course from one to the other, spun out two months time in these paces, and thereby were gotten in sight both of Spanish and Imperial Ministers, which I supposed was the point they always intended, and afterwards to keep pace with them. The Pensioner answered me, with something in his face both serious and sad, that either I did not know them, and the course of their affairs since I left the Hague, or else I would not seem to know them: that they not only desired the peace from their hearts, but thought it absolutely necessary for them: that they would certainly have entered into treaty at that time, if the French had either exhibited powers in a form to be at all admit-

ted, or would have obliged themselves to procure new ones; nay, that they would not insist upon a peace according to their allies pretensions, nor could he answer that they would not make a separate one. I said, that was a matter of such moment, as I was sure they would think of it another year before they did it. With this he drew up his chair closer to me, and began a discourse with more heat and earnestness than agreed well with the posture of health he was in, saying, first, that they had thought enough of it already; and, with thinking much, had begun to find it was without remedy: that they had great obligations to Spain, for entering into the war to save their country, and thereby to save Flanders too; but they had made them no ill return, by continuing it now three years only for the interests of Spain, since there remained nothing of consequence between France and them: that they had further engaged themselves to carry it on this following year, and so would have done with the forces they did the last, if their allies had performed the parts they had likewise engaged; but, for Spain, they took no care, but to let them see they were resolved to perish: that they had sent their fleet home from Sicily, without the payments agreed on; and left them to be paid by the States at their return: that not a penny could be got of a great sum they owed them for carriages and provisions the last summer, and which was designed for magazines against next year in Flanders, without which their armies could not march in that country, where they were sure to find none of the Spaniards providing; that they had represented to Spain the necessity but of keeping so many forces well regulated and paid, as might defend their towns while the Prince should take the field with the army of the State, and hinder or divert any great sieges there; but not a word of answer: that they had then desired them to receive so many of the troops of the German

Princes, their allies, as might defend their most important places; but, instead of this, they drove them out of their country: that, for the Emperor, they had always told him, that unless his army would march into France, or at least force them to a battle by such forces as might draw great detachments of the French out of Flanders, that country would not be saved the last summer, or at least not the next, unless his army took up their quarters this winter in Alsace, or on that side of the Rhine: but at Vienna they considered Flanders as much as the Dutch do Hungary; and because the Imperial officers could better find their private account by winter-quarters in Germany, than in a country harassed like Alsace, their armies must repass the Rhine this winter, and thereby lose all the advantages of the last campaign, and hopes of the next: that, for want of magazines in Flanders, two or three strong frontiers would be lost there next spring, before the Imperialists could take the field; and if Cambray, Valenciennes, and Mons were taken, all the rest would revolt, considering the miseries they had already suffered, and must by a longer war: that the Prince would not be able to prevent it, or be soon enough in the field to march, for want of provisions in Flanders, the country growing desolate by the unsettled contributions; or at least, not with such an army as to venture a battle, or raise a siege, while the Spanish troops were so weak, and the French would be so strong, at a time when they had no enemy to divert them upon the Rhine: that the Prince's friends could not suffer him to go into the field, only to see towns lost under his nose, and perhaps all Flanders, while he was expected to defend it; and at the same time was rendered incapable of doing it by the faults of the Spaniards, who yet would not fail to reproach him, as well as his enemies abroad, and ill-willers at home, that

would be glad of the occasion. In the mean time, from France they could have whatever conditions they pretended, either by restoring Maestricht, a reglement of commerce, or any advantages to the house of Orange; and, as to this last, whatever the Prince himself would demand: that to this purpose they had every week pressing letters from Monsieur d'Estrades to make the separate peace; and though he should fall into it with the greatest regret that could be, yet he did not see what else was to be done, and did not know one man in Holland that was not of the same mind: that he did not talk with me as an Ambassador, but a friend, whose opinion he esteemed and desired: that he told me freely *leur fort et leur foible* [their strength and their weakness]; and would be glad to know what else I thought they could do upon all these circumstances, *& dans l'accablement de leur Estat par une si longue guerre* [and in the distress of their State by so long a war]. I returned his compliment, but excused myself from giving my opinion to a person so well able to take measures that were the fittest for the States conduct or his own; but desired to know what he reckoned would become of Flanders after the Dutch had made their separate peace, because the fate of that country was that wherein the rest of their neighbours were concerned as well as they. He answered, it would be lost in one summer, or in two, but more probably in one: that he believed Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, and Mons, might be lost in one summer: that, after their loss, the great towns within would not offer at defending themselves, excepting Antwerp and Ostend, for which they might perhaps take some measures with France, as I knew the French had offered Monsieur de Witt upon their first invasion in 1667. I asked him how he reckoned this State was to live with France after the loss of Flanders? and if he

thought it could be otherways than at discretion? He desired me to believe, that, if they could hope to save Flanders by the war, they would not think of a separate peace; but if it must be lost, they had rather it should be by the last, which would less exhaust their country and dishonour the Prince: that, after Flanders was lost, they must live so with France, as would make them find it their interest rather to preserve their State than to destroy it: that it was not to be chosen, but to be swallowed like a desperate remedy: that he had hoped for some resource from better conduct in the Spanish affairs; or that some great impression of the German armies, upon that side of France, might have brought the peace to some reasonable terms: that, for his own part, he had ever believed that England itself would cry halt, at one step or other that France was making; and that, if we would be content to see half Flanders lost, yet we would not all; nor Sicily neither, for the interest of our trade in the Mediterranean: that the King had the peace in his hands for these two years past; might have made it when he pleased, and upon such conditions as he should think fit, of justice and safety to the rest of his neighbours as well as himself: that all men knew France was not in a condition to refuse whatever terms his Majesty resolved on, or to venture a war with England in conjunction with the rest of the allies: that the least show of it, if at all credited in France, was enough to make the peace: that they had long represented all this in England by Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and offered his Majesty to be the arbiter of it, and to fall into the terms he should prescribe; but not a word in answer, and all received with such a coldness as never was, though other people thought we had reason to be a little more concerned: that this put him more upon thinking a separate peace necessary than all

the rest: that he confessed, *cuncta prius tentanda* [all means were first to be tried], till he found at last it was *immedicabile vulnus* [an incurable wound]: that, for their living with France after Flanders was lost, he knew well enough what I meant by asking; but, after that, the aims of France would be more upon Italy or Germany, or perhaps upon us, than them; that it could not be the interest of France to destroy or conquer this State, but to preserve it in a dependence upon that Crown: that they could make better use of the Dutch fleets, than of a few poor fisher towns, that they should be reduced to if any violation were made, either upon their liberties or religion: that the King of France had seen their country, and knew it, and understood it so, and said, upon all occasions, that he had rather have them for his friends than his subjects; but if, after all, I concluded their state must fall in four-and-twenty hours, yet it were better for them to defer it to the last hour, and that it should happen at night rather than at noon.

This was discoursed with such vehemence and warmth, that he was not able to go on; and having said, it was not a matter to be resolved between us two, I left him, after wishing him health enough to go through the thoughts and businesses of so great a conjuncture.

Next morning I went to the Prince, and, after some common talk, told him what had passed in my visit to the Pensioner, and asked his Highness if he had seen him since, or knew any thing of it? He said, No; and so I told him the detail of it: and, upon conclusion, that he said he saw nothing else to be done but to make a separate peace; and that he knew not a man in Holland who was not of his mind. The Prince interrupted me, saying, 'Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is myself, and I will hinder it as long as I can; but if any thing should

happen to me, I know it would be done in two days time.' I asked him, whether he was of the Pensioner's mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next campaign? He said, the appearances were ill; but campaigns did not always end as they began: that accidents might happen which no man could foresee; and that, if they came to one fair battle, none could answer for the event: that the King might make the peace, if he pleased, before it began; but if we were so indifferent as to let this season pass, for his part, he must go on, and take his fortune: that he had seen that morning a poor old man, tugging alone in a little boat with his oars, against the eddy of a sluice, upon a canal; that, when with the last endeavours he was just got up to the place intended, the force of the eddy carried him quite back again; but he turned his boat as soon as he could, and fell to his oars again; and thus three or four times while the Prince saw him; and concluded, this old man's business and his were too like one another, and that he ought, however, to do just as the old man did, without knowing what would succeed, any more than what did in the poor man's case.

All that passed upon these discourses, I represented very particularly to the Court, the first part immediately to the King, the rest to the Secretaries of State; and added my own opinion, that if his Majesty continued to interpose no further than by the bare and common offices of his mediation, in the place and forms of a treaty, and the Austrians held off from the progress of it, as well as the Northern allies, and as they had all hitherto done, it would certainly follow, that the French and Dutch would fall into private negotiations; and, by what I could observe on both sides, were like to adjust them in a very little time, and leave them ready to clap up a peace in two days, when the Dutch should

grow more impatient of the slowness or unsincereness of their allies proceedings in the general treaty, or whenever the violent humour of the people should force the Prince to fall into the same opinion with the States upon this matter. This I esteemed myself obliged to say, that his Majesty might want no lights that were necessary upon so nice, and yet so dangerous a conjuncture. I had his Majesty's answer in a long letter, of his own hand, complaining much of the confederate Ministers in England caballing with Parliament-men, and raising all men's spirits as high against the peace as they could; and that they had done it to such a degree, as made it very difficult for him to make any steps with France towards a general peace, unless the Dutch Ambassador would first put in a memorial, pressing his Majesty from the States to do it; and declaring, that without it they saw Flanders would be lost.

From Secretary Williamson I had no other answer material upon all the Pensioner's discourses, nor my own opinion upon the present conjuncture; but that his Majesty, and the Lords of the Foreign Committee, wondered I should think the French were so ready for a separate peace, if the Dutch should fall into those thoughts; and that they did not remember they had ever received any thing from either me or my colleague at Nimeguen that looked that way. Upon which I told him the frequent conversations I had had with Monsieur Colbert, upon that subject, and the several letters the Pensioner had shewn from the Marshal d'Estrades, or his instrument, at Maestricht. But to all this I received no answer; nor so much as reflection; though I thought this part was my duty, as Ambassador at the Hague, whether it were so as Mediator at Nimeguen or not.

The Prince and Pensioner were both willing the

King should be complied with, in the government of Monsieur Van Beuninghen's paces and language at London; but pressed me to write once more, to know his Majesty's opinion upon the terms of a peace, or else he said it would be too late, while the season advanced towards the campaign. Upon which I desired him to consider there might be three weeks difference between his first telling his own thoughts to his Majesty, and receiving his Majesty's opinions upon them; or sending first to know his Majesty's, then returning his own, and afterwards expecting the King's again, in case they differed: besides, I believed his Majesty would take it kinder, and as a piece of more confidence, if his Highness made no difficulty of explaining himself first. The Prince paused a while, and then said, to shew the confidence he desired to live in with his Majesty, he would make no further difficulty of it, though he might have many reasons to do it: that, if the King had a mind to make a sudden peace, he thought he must do it upon the foot of Aix la Chapelle; which he would have the more ground for, because it was a peace he both made and warranted: that, for exchanges, he thought there should be no other proposed upon it, but only of Aeth and Charleroy for Aire and St. Omer; which two last he thought imported a great deal more to France, than the others, unless they would declare that they intended to end this war with the prospect of beginning another, by which they might get the rest of Flanders: that this was all needed pass between France and Spain; and for the Emperor and this State, that the first, having taken Philipsburgh from the French, should raze it; and the French having taken Maestricht from the Dutch, should raze it too; and so this whole war should pass *comme un tourbillon qui avoit cessé, après avoir menacé beaucoup, & fait fort peu de re-*

muemens au monde [as a storm that has ceased, after it had threatened much, and made but little alteration in the world.]

I was surprised to hear a proposition so on the sudden, so short and so decisive, and that seemed so easy towards a short close, if his Majesty should fall into it; and I esteemed it a strain in the Prince of the most consummate knowledge in the whole present scheme of affairs, and most decisive judgment upon them that he could have given, after the longest deliberation and maturest advice. I observed, however, to his Highness upon it, that he had not explained what was to become of Lorrain and Burgundy; and next, whether he believed it at all likely, that France, after such acquisitions made in this war, and so many more expected, should come to such restitutions of what they possessed, without any equivalent. The Prince replied, both were explained by the terms he proposed of Aix la Chapelle: that, for Lorrain, France never pretended to keep it, but from the last Duke only; that Burgundy could not be parted with by Spain, without the French restoring so many towns for it in Flanders as would raise endless debates, draw the business into lengths, and so leave it to the decision of another campaign. For the second, he said, he had reason to doubt it, and did not believe it would be done but by his Majesty's vigorous interposition, but by that he was sure it would be easily effected; but if his Majesty would not endeavour it, the war must go on, and God Almighty must decide it: that all the allies would be glad of it, and believed that, upon Don John's coming to the head of the Spanish affairs, there would be a new world there: that however one town well defended, or one battle well fought, might change the scene: that for himself, he would confess, the King could never do so kind a part, as to bring

him with some honour out of this war, and upon some moderate terms: but if he was content that France should make them insupportable, they would venture all, rather than receive them; and, for Holland's making it a separate peace, let the Pensioner, or any others, tell me what they would, they should never do it while he was alive, and was able to hinder it. And he would say one thing more to me, that he believed he was able to hinder it: that, if he died, he knew it would be done next day; but when that should happen, this matter must be some other's care, and perhaps we in England were the most concerned to look after it.

I promised to represent all he had said directly to his Majesty, and so I did immediately; and the Prince went next day to Dieron, within six leagues of Nimeguen, where I promised to come to him as soon as I should be possessed of his Majesty's answer. And I am the more particular in all these discourses with the Prince and the Pensioner upon this great conjuncture, because they do not only discover the true springs from which the peace was afterwards derived, but represent most of the interests of Christendom, as they were observed by the two persons that, next to Monsieur de Witt, understood them the best of any I have ever met with in the course of my negotiations.

After the Prince was gone, I had one conference more with the Pensioner, who told me he was still of opinion it must come to a separate peace: that he had told the Emperor's Ministers the same thing; and, that if they did not, at Vienna, fall into the measures proposed and insisted on by the States, before the middle of February next, they should be forced to make it: that if Don Emanuel de Lyra had not now assured them of the remises being actually come from Spain, for payment of the last year's charge of the fleets, both in the Mediterra-

nean and Baltic, according to agreement, the peace could not have been kept off this winter itself. I told him the Prince was of another mind, and had said to me a separate peace should never be made while he lived, and was able to hinder it; and that he believed he should have that in his power. The Pensioner replied, he should come to it with as much regret as the Prince himself; but that his Highness himself might be forced to it by the ill conduct of his allies, the ill successes of the next campaign, and the mutinies of the people, to which they were already but too much disposed at Amsterdam by the delays of the treaty at Nimeguen: that the late revolution in Spain, against the Queen-regent and her Ministry, had shewed enough what might be brought about by a violent and general humour of the people; and the Prince knew the country too well to go too far against it: that it was in his Majesty's hands to make a general peace, if he pleased, before the campaign began; and perhaps it was in the conduct of Spain and the Emperor to engage Holland in one campaign more, by the measures they had proposed: if both these failed, a separate peace must be made.

While I stayed at the Hague, which was about a month, my colleagues at Nimeguen had, it seems, found out a negotiation grown between the French Ambassadors and Monsieur Van Beverning, separate from the Ministers of his allies, and without any communication of the Mediators, which they suspected would end in a separate peace. Of this they thought fit to give part to the Court, and of their suspicions upon it; as they had done in my absence; and received an immediate order upon it, that, in case they found a separate peace concluding, or concluded between France and Holland at Nimeguen, they should protest publicly against it in his Majesty's name. This my colleague, Sir

Lionel Jenkins writ to me at the Hague about the 10th of January, and was in great pain upon it. He apprehended the thing, but expected not to know it till it was done, and then doubted any good consequences from our protestation. He desired I would both send him my thoughts upon it, and the same to Court, as soon as I could.

I did so, both to my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary Coventry; and told them very freely, that I could not understand the reason or the drift of such an order as my colleagues had received to make such a protestation: that if a separate peace between France and Holland were thought as dangerous in the Court, as I knew it was in the country, the King might endeavour to prevent it; and had it still in his power, as he had had a great while; but, if it were once concluded, I did not see any other effect of our protestation, unless it were to irritate both the parties, and bind them the faster, by our being angry at their conjunction. Nor did I know what ground could be given for such a protestation; for though the parties had accepted his Majesty's mediation of a general peace, yet none of them had obliged themselves to his Majesty not to treat a separate one, or without his offices of mediation; and, if they had, I did not see why the same interests, that could make them break through so many obligations to their allies, should not make them as bold with a mediator: that, as to prevent the thing may be a very wise and necessary counsel, so his Majesty's resolution in it ought to be signified as early as can be, where it is likely to be of moment to that end, which was to France: but if the thing should be first done, as I could not tell how well to ground our offence, so I could as little how to seek our revenge; and it would be to stay till we were struck, and then trust to crying out: that, to the best of my sense, it were better to anger any one of the parties before a separate peace,

than both of them after; and if we must strain any points of courtesy with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general peace, than by complaining or protesting against a separate one.

I thought, I confess, that upon this representation from my colleagues, without any knowledge of mine, or suspicion that the matter was working up at Nimeguen when I left it, and yet agreeing so much with what I had foreseen and represented from the Hague, and meeting such a resentment at our Court as appeared by the order transmitted to my colleagues upon it; there was little question but his Majesty would declare himself upon the terms of a general peace to both parties, which I knew very well would be refused by neither, if he were positive in it, and supported, as he would certainly have been, by the Prince: but our counsels at Court were so in balance, between the desires of living at least fair with France, and the fears of too much displeasing the Parliaments upon their frequent sessions, that our paces upon this whole affair looked all like cross purposes, which no man at home or abroad could well understand, and were often mistaken by both parties engaged in the war, as well as by both parties in the House of Commons, till the thing was wrested out of our hands.

About the twenty-fifth of January 1677, I received his Majesty's answer to my last dispatches by the Prince's directions, and carried them immediately away to Dieren, which was a little out of my way to Nimeguen, and there communicated them to the Prince. They consisted of two parts; the first, an offer of his Majesty's entering into the strongest defensive alliance with the States, thereby to secure them from all apprehensions from France, after the peace should be made. The second, was his Majesty's remarks, rather than conclusion or judgment, upon the terms proposed by

the Prince for a peace: that he believed it might be compassed with France, upon the exchange of Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer, for Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Condé, and Bouchain: that this scheme was what his Majesty thought possible to be obtained of France, though not what was to be wished.

I observed the Prince's countenance to change when I named Cambray and the rest of the towns; yet he heard me through, and the many nice reasons of Sir J— W—— upon the matter; as of a double frontier this would give to Flanders, the safety whereof was the thing both his Majesty and the States were most concerned in; and many other ways of cutting the feather. After which the Prince said, he believed dinner was ready, and we would talk of it after we had dined, and so went out; but, as he was near the door, he turned to me, and said, though we should talk more of it after dinner, yet he would tell me now, and in few words, that he must rather die than make such a peace.

After dinner we went again into his chamber, where he began with telling me I had spoiled his dinner: that he had not expected such a return of the confidence he had begun towards his Majesty. He observed the offer of alliance came to me in a letter of his Majesty's own hand; but that about the terms of a peace from the Secretary only: that it was in a style as if he thought him a child, or to be fed with whipped cream: that, since all this had been before the foreign committee, he knew very well it had been with the French Ambassador too, and that the terms were his, and a great deal worse than they could have directly from France. He cast them up distinctly, and what in plain language they amounted to: that Spain must part with all Burgundy, Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer,

which were of the value of two other provinces in the consequences of any war between France and Spain, and all for the five towns mentioned: that in short all must be ventured, since he was in, and found no other way out. I told the Prince, that I hoped he would send his Majesty his own thoughts upon it; but that he would think a little more before he did it. He said he would write to the King that night, but would not enter into the detail of the business, which was not worth the pains, but would leave it to me. He desired me further to let his Majesty know, that he had been very plain in what he had told me of his own thoughts upon this whole matter, and had gone as low as he could with any regard to the safety of his country and his allies, or his honour: that he doubted whether Spain would ever have consented to those very terms; but for these he knew they could not, though they were sure to lose all Flanders by the war: and, for himself, he could never propose it to them; but if Flanders were left in that posture, it could never be defended upon another invasion, neither by Holland nor by England itself; and he was so far of the Spaniards mind, that, if Flanders must be lost, it had better be so by a war than by a peace: that whenever that was, Holland must fall into an absolute dependence upon France; so that what his Majesty offered, of an alliance with them, would be to no purpose; for they would not be made the stage of a war after the loss of Flanders, and wherein they were sure no alliance of his Majesty, nor forces neither, could defend them. He concluded, that if his Majesty would help him out of this war with any honour and safety, either upon kindness to him, or consideration of what concernment his own Crowns were like to have in the issue of this affair, he would acknowledge and endeavour to deserve it as long as

he lived; if not, the war must go on, be the event what it would; and, for his own part, he would rather charge a thousand men with a hundred, nay, though he were sure to die in the charge, than enter into any concert of a peace upon these conditions.

I gave his Majesty an account of all that passed in this interview, and returned to my post at Nimeguen.

The allies had taken great umbrage at my journey to the Hague, as designed for negotiating some separate peace between France and Holland; but the Prince and Pensioner seemed careless to satisfy them, and made that use only of it, to let them know that no such thing was yet intended, but that Holland would be forced to it at last if the Emperor and Spain fell not into those measures that they had proposed to them, both at Vienna and Madrid, for the vigorous prosecution of the next campaign. Which had some effect at Vienna, but little in Spain or Flanders, as was felt in the beginning of the spring.

At my return to Nimeguen, I found that in my absence Count Kinski was arrived, who was a person of great parts, of a sharp and quick apprehension, but exact and scrupulous in his conduct, rigid in his opinions, never before versed in these sort of employments, and thereby very punctilious: this had engaged him in difficulties upon the ceremony of visits, both with my colleagues and the French, upon his first arrival; which lasted with these till the end of the congress, so as to hinder all visits between them: but I had the good fortune to retrieve all ill correspondence that had happened between the Mediators and him. I found likewise that a secret intelligence was grown between the French and Dutch Ambassadors, which was managed by Monsieur Olivecrans, the second

Swedish Ambassador, and wholly apart from my colleagues, whose intervention had been only used when the matter was first agreed between those parties: that Monsieur Van Beverning drove on very violently towards a peace, and with little regard of his allies; and said he had order from the States, *de pousser l'affaire tant qu'il lui seroit possible* [to push the business on as vigorously as possible]: that those Ambassadors had come to a sort of agreement about the form and number of powers; which was, that the mediators should be desired to draw up a form of preamble, which should be common to all the parties, and contain nothing more but that such and such Princes, out of a sincere desire of peace, had sent such and such persons to Nimeguen, which had been chose for the place of treaty by the intercession of the King of Great Britain: that the Mediators should likewise draw up an obligatory act, to be signed by the several Ambassadors, and put into their hands on the same day, for the procuring new powers within sixty days after the date: that the titles in the new powers should be inserted, *bona fide*, according to the usual style of the chancellary of each Court; and that an act of salvo should be signed by the several Ambassadors, for no consequence to be drawn hereafter for the use or omission of any titles in these powers.

I found likewise, that these points had been agreed among all the allies, by the formal intervention of my colleagues, after they had first been concerted between the French and Dutch: that these Ambassadors had entered into a course of mutual visits; owning publicly, that they did it as necessary to facilitate the progress of the treaty: and that the Dutch began to talk of finishing an eventual treaty (as they called it) for themselves, as soon as the acts about powers were wholly dis-

patched, which should not take place till the general peace was concluded; but after which they, the Dutch, intended to employ their offices between their allies and the French.

I found likewise that Mr. Hide had increased the number of the Mediators in my absence, who, having been sent into Poland the summer past to christen that King's child, and to condole with the Emperor upon the late Empress's death, had performed the first compliment from his Majesty; but, upon his coming from thence to Vienna, found the Emperor married, and so passed on privately home, and arrived at Nimeguen, soon after I left it upon my journey to the Hague; where he came to me, after having stayed a fortnight at Nimeguen. He told me at the Hague, that, upon his return by Rotterdam, he had there met letters from Court, with a commission to stop for some short time at Nimeguen, and take the character of one of the Ambassadors mediators there, by which he might be enabled at his return to give his Majesty an account of the state and progress of affairs there. He said, this commission was intended to find him at Nimeguen, upon the stop he made there; but having not arrived till he left that place, he was in doubt whether he should make any use of it or no, and desired my advice, whether to return to Nimeguen, or to go forward for England. I easily perceived what this dispatch was intended for, to introduce him into those kind of characters and employments; and so advised him to go back to Nimeguen, which he did, and made a part of the embassy during a short stay there, but excused himself from entering into the management of any conferences or dispatches; so that by his modesty, and my Lord Berkley's great age and infirmities, the fatigue of that employment lay still upon me and Sir Lionel Jenkins, who writ alternately the

dispatches from the embassy to Court, and the others to other Princes and Ministers by concert, all the while I was upon the place.

I found likewise, at my return to Nimeguen, some few difficulties yet remaining, which obstructed the dispatch intended about the powers; for though the French had consented to furnish new powers, and several for the Emperor, Spain, Denmark, and Holland, yet they refused a distinct one for Brandenburg, which these Ministers insisted on; and the Dutch were in such obligations to that Prince, that they were forced to do so too, though unwillingly, as doubting the success with France, and foreseeing the consequence of the same pretence to be raised upon it by other Princes of Germany, not only Electors, but the Houses of Lunenburg and Neuberg, who yielded to the Electors in no point but that one of precedence. But the Dutch, to distinguish that of Brandenburg, alledged to us that he was principal in the war of Sweden, and so could not be included as an ally only, either by the Emperor or by the States.

The Danish Ambassador stood positively upon the common use of the Latin tongue between France and them in their powers, or else to give his in Danish, if they gave theirs in French. These said, that it was a novelty and an impertinence; and that, if in all the intercourse that had ever been between those two Crowns, the language had not been French on their side, and Latin on the Danes, even in any one instrument, they were content they should give their powers not only in Danish, but in Hebrew if they pleased. The Dane said, he could not give account of all precedents: that if ill ones had been hitherto used, it was time to establish new ones that were good: that his Master had more right to do it than any former King, being now successive in that Crown, which

was before elective, and being more absolute in his dominions than any other King of Christendom; for there was now nothing in Denmark but *la volonté du Roy* [the will of the King]; upon all which he said his orders were positive, and he could not proceed without the style he pretended.

These two points chiefly had obstructed the final agreement about the powers for near a month; after which we prevailed with the French to yield to new powers for Brandenburg, upon assurance from the Dutch Ambassadors that they expected no such pretension for any other of their German allies; but that if any should be raised and refused by France, yet that should not hinder or delay the Dutch from proceeding in the treaty. The Dane's pretence about the languages, being neither countenanced nor approved by any of his allies, was at last yielded by him; which had been better never started, as having lost him ground in that which was intended by it, which was to establish the principle of a parity among crowned heads.

There was an accident happened likewise in my absence, which had raised great heats among the parties.

Upon Count Kinski's arrival, the allies began their meetings at his house, by which they hoped to govern the general resolutions, and keep the alliance from breaking into any separate pieces. The Dutch Ambassadors, who pretended to influence the peace more than any of their allies, stomached the Count's design and carriage at these conferences, where they said he pretended to be sole dictator; and they were unwilling to enter into plain contradictions, or the same heats at his own house; upon which they went to the Stadthouse, and chose there a room for their conferences among all the allies, which, upon the first practice, gave great offence to the French Ambassadors. They

said it was a breach upon the neutrality of the place, established by the assembly's being there; and that the Dutch had now arrogated to themselves the disposal of the Town-house, without common agreement. The Dutch alledged the rooms they had taken were not belonging to the town, but to the nobles of Guelderland, and were below stairs; and that all above remained to be disposed of still by the Mediators for the common use of the parties when they should desire it. The French were not satisfied with these reasons, and threatened to break the assembly. We at last prevailed with the allies to forbear the use of the Stadthouse, till we drew up a formal proposal, to be made by us the mediators to all parties, desiring them that, for their ease and convenience, all parties would meet in one room at the Stadthouse, or at least the two alliances in two several rooms, whilst we should meet in another, and be there ready to perform all offices between them. This last was accepted, and we designed the several rooms for ourselves and the parties; but were forced to find two rooms for the French and Swedes to meet apart, whose competition, though allies, would not suffer them to meet in one, or decide it by lot, as the Spaniard and Dane had done.

There remained one difficulty more, which particularly concerned his Majesty. Both French and Spaniards, as well as Imperialists, had insisted, even with emulation, that the Pope's mediation should be mentioned in the new powers, as well as his Majesty's. The Dutch and Danes both had absolutely refused to treat upon any powers where the Pope's mediation should be mentioned. We had likewise represented to them, how great a difference there was between his Majesty's mediation, that had been accepted by all parties, and the Pope's, that had been so only by a part of them;

and the very mention of it absolutely refused by several others, to be admitted into the powers: that his Majesty's mediation had proposed the place of treaty, exchanged the passports, formed the assembly, managed all the negotiations in it so long, without the appearance of any Minister from the Pope, or knowledge whether he would be received if he came, or by whom his mediation would be accepted or employed. At length it was resolved, that the mention of his Majesty's mediation alone should be made in the several powers: and so all being agreed, about the middle of February, all the several acts were signed and put into our hands, and by us exchanged among the several parties.

After this dispatch of all preliminaries to the treaty, the several parties, by agreement, brought into our hands their several propositions or pretensions. The French seemed in theirs to demand nothing of the Emperor and of Brandenburg, but the entire restoring of the treaty of Munster; of Spain, the retaining of all they had conquered in this war, upon the Spaniards having first broken the peace. From the States General they made no demand, but offered them the restoring of their friendship, and that they would hearken to a treaty of commerce. On the other side, the Emperor's demands were, that France should restore to him, to the Empire, and to all his allies, whatever they had taken from them in the course of this war, and make reparation for all damages they had suffered in it. The Spaniards demanded all the places they had lost, and all the damages they had suffered from France since the year 1665. The Dutch demanded from France the restitution of Maestricht, satisfaction to the Prince of Orange in what did concern the principality of Orange, and a reglement of commerce, with a renunciation of all pre-

tensions each party might have upon the other. As for the great damages they had sustained, they said, they sacrificed them all to the public peace, provided satisfaction might be given to their allies.

For the Northern Kings and German Princes, their demands were so extended, that I shall forbear relating them, and sum them up in this only, That those who had gained by the war, pretended to retain all they had got; and those that had lost, pretended to recover all they had lost, and to be repaid the damages they had suffered by the war. Count Kinski delivered into our hands likewise the Duke of Lorrain's pretensions, sealed as the rest were; but we opened them not, upon the French telling us they had not received from Court any counter-pretensions upon the Duke of Lorrain; whereof they believed the reason to be, that no Minister of his had yet appeared at the congress. Indeed, their pretensions against Lorrain had never yet been made since the death of the late Duke, and would have been very hard to draw up by their ablest Ministers or Advocates themselves; and therefore they thought fit to decline them, and reserve them for the terms of a peace, when they should be able to prescribe rather than to treat them.

By these propositions of the several parties, it easily appeared to the world, what wise men knew before, how little hopes there were of a peace, from the motions of this treaty in the present circumstances of affairs, and how it was wholly to be expected from the course and influence of future events in the progress of the war.

About the 24th of February, I went to the Prince at his house at Soesdyck, a day's journey from Nimeguen, upon a letter from his Highness desiring it of me. I had about a week before written to him by the King's command; upon which his Highness

desired to speak with me. I went, and told him the contents of my last dispatch. He asked me, whether it were from the King himself, or from any of the Ministers? I told him it was from Secretary Williamson, by the King's command. The Prince said, Then he knew from whence it came; but however, desired me to read the particulars to him; which were, the King's apprehension of a mistake in the Prince, because the terms mentioned by his Majesty were not any propositions, which he did not think his part to make, nor had he any authority for it, but only a piece of confidence he had entered into with the Prince: next, that the exchange of Cambray was only proposed as a thing to be wished, that so six towns might be restored to Spain, instead of five the Prince had proposed, which, in his Majesty's opinion, would make a kind of a double frontier to Brussels, and so leave Flanders safer than by the Prince's scheme: therefore his Majesty desired the Prince would think further of it, and not let it fall so flat as he did by his last answer, without trying what it could be beaten out to: but however offered, that, if his Highness had any other proposition to make to France, the King would very readily hand it over to them in the best manner he could.

Whilst I was reading this to the Prince, he could hardly hear it out with any patience, Sir J— W——'s style was always so disagreeable to him; and he thought the whole cast of this so artificial, that he received it at first with indignation and scorn, rather than with those further thoughts that were desired of him. He said the style of letting it fall so flat, was my Lord Arlington's; and the double frontier, as it were, for Brussels, was some of the Secretary's *cresme fouetté* [whipped cream] and fit for children. The rest he took to be all the French Ambassador's, who would fain continue a private

treaty with him by the King's hand, while his Master went into the field. His answer was very plain, That he had thought enough of it, and had no more to say at this time: that, when he spoke to me so lately at the Hague, he believed the peace might have been made, and upon better terms than he proposed, if the King had desired them from France, either upon kindness to him, or upon the interest of his own Crowns: that he was sorry to find the King's thoughts so different from his; and that, whenever they grew nearer, he should be glad to know it: but he looked now upon the campaign as begun, and believed, at the time we talked, the guns were playing before Valenciennes: that he saw no hopes of a peace, but expected a long war, unless Flanders should be lost, and in that case the States must make the best terms they could: that he expected a very ill beginning of the campaign, to make an ill figure in it himself, and to bear the shame of faults that others would make; but if the Emperor performed what he had promised, the campaign might not end as it began: that, however, he was in, and must go on, *& quand on est à la grande messe, on y est* [and when one is at high-mass, one is at it], meaning, I suppose, that one must stay till it is done, because the crowd is so great one can't get out: that he gave his Majesty thanks for his offer of handing over to France any proposition he should make; but that never was his meaning; for if it had, he could easily have found a directer way: that his intention was only to enter into a confidence with his Majesty upon the subject of the peace, and to owe it wholly to him; but if any thing was proposed by the King to France otherwise than as his own thoughts, it must be from the body of the alliance, and not from him.

After these discourses, the Prince went immediately away for the Hague, and I returned to Ni-

meguen; where all negotiations seemed wholly at a stand, and so continued till towards the end of April. In this time arrived Monsieur Stratman, one of the Imperial Ambassadors; Monsieur Christin, one of the Spanish; but he and Don Pedro having only the character of Plenipotentiaries, and pretending thereupon the treatment of Ambassadors, and the French and Swedes refusing it to that character, they continued *incognito* till the arrival of the Marquis de Balbaces.

For Monsieur Stratman, upon his notification to the several Ambassadors (at the same time, as he said), the Dane and the Swede made him first their visits, and after them the French: whereupon, having first made his to the Mediators, he returned them to the Swede, the Dane being out of town; after which he sent to demand an hour of the French; but Monsieur d'Estrades returned him answer, that, having failed of the respect due to the King his Master, they would not admit of any visit from him. Hereupon Monsieur Kinski and Monsieur Stratman desired us to ask upon what point the French refused their visit, saying, it could be upon no other but a pretence of preference to all other Crowns, and expecting the first visits to be made to the French, though other Ambassadors had first visited the Imperialists. This they desired much the French would avow, believing it would embroil them with the Swedes as well as with us, who they knew would declare against any such pretence. But the French, upon our application from the Imperialists, kept stanch to their first answer, that Monsieur Stratman *avoit manqué du respect au Roy leur Maistre* [had been wanting in the respect due to the King their Master], that he had done it in several points, and knew very well in what: and further than this they would not enter into the matter, but continued positive in refusing the visit.

Whilst such matters as these helped to amuse the congress, and keep them in countenance, the essential parts of the treaty were managed in the field: France had in the beginning of the year blocked up Cambray; and Valenciennes about the end of February. Having provided sufficient magazines in the winter for the subsistence of their forces, they began to break into Flanders, and into the parts of Germany, on the other side the Rhine, and with all the most cruel ravages of burning and spoiling those parts of Germany that could be exercised, and such as had not yet been used on either side since the war began. The allies made complaints of this new manner of war to his Majesty; who employed his offices towards France, to hinder such prosecution of a quarrel, while a peace was treating under his mediation. But the thing was done, and their point was gained; which was, by an entire ruin of the country to hinder the Imperialists from finding any subsistence for their troops, if they should march into Alsace, and thereby divert those forces that the French resolved to employ this spring in Flanders, before the Dutch could take the field and march to the relief of those places they intended to attack.

About the seventeenth of March, the King of France took Valenciennes; having surmounted the very force of the seasons, and sat down before it about the beginning of that month. From thence he marched with a mighty army, and laid siege to Cambray with one part of it, and to St. Omer with the other, under the Duke of Orleans. After five days siege from the opening of the trenches, he took Cambray, like all the other Spanish towns, by surrender upon articles; but the citadel held out for some days longer.

In the mean time, the Dutch, having received their payments due from Spain, and finding the

French to go on with their design upon Flanders, whilst the treaty served but for an amusement, resolved to go on with the war for another campaign; being kept up to this resolution by the vigour of the Prince of Orange, in pressing them upon the observance of their treaties, and pursuit of their interest, in the defence of Flanders. Upon the first motion of the French, the Prince had begun to prepare for that of his troops likewise, and pressed the Spaniards to have theirs in readiness to join him; and with all imaginable endeavours provided for the subsistence of his army in their march through Flanders, which the Spaniards had taken no care of. But with all the diligence and application that could be used, he could not come to the relief either of Valenciennes or Cambray; but with part of the forces of the States alone, and without either troops, or so much as guides, furnished him by the Spaniards, he marched directly towards St. Omer, resolute to raise that siege with the hazard of a battle, at what disadvantage soever. The Duke of Orleans, leaving a small part of his troops to defend the trenches before St. Omer, marched to meet the Prince of Orange, and upon the way was reinforced by Monsieur de Luxemburgh with all the troops the French King could send out of his army, leaving only enough to continue the siege before the citadel of Cambray. These armies met, and fought with great bravery at Mont-Cassel, where, after a sharp dispute, the first regiment of the Dutch infantry began to break, and fall into disorder: the Prince went immediately to that part where the shake began, rallied them several times, and renewed the charge; but at last was borne down by the plain flight of his men, whom he was forced to resist like enemies, and fall in among them with his sword in his hand; and, cutting the first cross the

face, cried out aloud, *Coquin, je te marquerai au moins, à fin de te faire pendre* [rascal, I'll set a mark on thee at least, that I may hang thee afterwards]. Voice nor actions, threats nor examples, could give courage to men that had already lost it; and so the Prince was forced to yield to the stream that carried him back to the rest of his troops, which yet stood firm; with whom, and what he could gather of those that had been routed, he made a retreat that wanted little of the honour of a victory; and will, by the confession of his enemies, make a part of that great character they so justly allow him. The safety of the Dutch army, upon this misfortune, was by them wholly owed to his Highness's conduct as well as bravery in the course of this action; after which, both St. Omer and the citadel of Cambray were surrendered to the French about the twentieth of April, with which the Spaniards lost the main strength of their frontier of Flanders on that side (as they had done that on the other side by Aeth and Charleroy in the former war), and all the hopes of raising any contributions in France, which was a great part of the subsistence of the Spanish troops; so as there now remained nothing of frontier considerable, besides Namur and Mons to the land, Ostend and Newport to the sea; and the rest of the Spanish Netherlands consisted only of great towns, by which no resistance could be hoped for whenever the French should think fit to attack them, and could spare men enough to garrison them when they should be taken. For the greatness of those towns, and multitude of inhabitants, and their inveterate hatred to the French government, was such, as without very great garrisons they could not be held, unless, upon one sudden conquest and great revolution, the whole Spanish Netherlands should become French, and there-

by be made a new frontier towards the Dutch and Germans, and, like a new conquest, the seat of their armies.

This the Spaniards thought would never be suffered, neither by England nor Holland; and so they seemed to have abandoned the fate of Flanders to their care, with a resignation that became good Christians rather than good reasoners. For I have long observed, from all I have seen or heard, or read in story, that nothing is so fallacious, as to reason upon the counsels or conduct of Princes or States, from what one conceives to be the true interest of their countries; for there is in all places an interest of those that govern, and another of those that are governed: nay, among these, there is an interest of quiet men, that desire only to keep what they have; and another of unquiet men, who desire to acquire what they have not; and by violent, if they cannot by lawful means. Therefore I never could find a better way of judging the resolutions of a State, than by the personal temper and understanding, or passions and humours, of the Princes, or chief Ministers, that were for the time at the head of affairs. But the Spaniards reasoned only from what they thought the interest of each country. They knew Holland would save Flanders, if they could, and England, they were sure, could if they would, and believed would be brought to it at last by the increase of the danger, and force of their own interest, and the humour of the people. In this hope or presumption they were a great deal flattered by their Ministers then in England, Don Bernard de Salinas envoy from Spain, and Fonseca consul there; who did indeed very industriously foment the heats that began about this time to appear in the Parliament, upon the apprehensions of the French conquests both in Flanders and Sicily: which moved them, about the end of

March, to make an address to the King, representing the progresses of France, and desiring his Majesty to put a stop to them, before they grew dangerous to England, as well as to their neighbours. Don Bernard de Salinas told some of the Commons, that the King was very angry at this address, and had said upon it, that the authors of it were a company of rogues; which made a great noise in the House of Commons. The King resented it as a piece of malice in Salinas, or at least as a design to inflame the House; and thereupon ordered him to depart the kingdom within certain days. Yet, about a month after, the Parliament made another address, upon the same occasion; desiring his Majesty to make a league offensive and defensive with the States General, for opposing the progress of the French conquests. This his Majesty received as an invasion of his prerogative, made them an angry answer, and prorogued the Parliament till the winter following.

However, France had so much regard to the jealousies raised both in England and Holland, of their designing an entire conquest of Flanders, that, after having gained those three important frontier towns so early in the spring, and dispersed his army after that expedition, that King returned home; writ to his Majesty, that to shew he had no intention to conquer Flanders, but only to make a general peace, he was contented, notwithstanding the great advantages and forces he had at present, to make a general truce, in case his allies the Swedes would agree to it; which he desired his Majesty to inform himself of, since he had not convenience of doing it, for want of liberty of couriers into Sweden.

The contents of this letter were proved by the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen among the several Ministers there, till they found it had an effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken

by all for too gross an artifice. It passed very ill with Monsieur Van Beverning himself, who, of all others there, was the most passionately bent upon the peace. But he said openly upon this, that the French were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of importance, nor so much as of amusement: that France had given their blow, and would now hinder the allies from giving theirs: that the reserve of Sweden's consent was an easy way of avoiding the truce, if the allies should accept it: that this itself could not be done, because Flanders would be left so open, as to be easily swallowed up by the next invasion, having no frontier on either side: that the towns, now possessed by France, would in the time of a truce grow absolutely French, and so the harder to be restored by a peace or a war: that, for his part, he desired the peace; contrary to the politics of Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and the other Ministers of the allies in England; affirming always, that, notwithstanding all their intrigues and intelligences there, he, Monsieur Van Beverning, was assured, that his Majesty would not enter into the war, to save the last town in Flanders. This confidence made him pursue all the ways towards a peace, and by paces which some thought forwarder than his commission, and very ill concerted with those of his allies. About the middle of April, he brought us the project of a treaty of commerce both for France and Sweden, and desired he would make the communication of them; which he did for form, though we knew that those Ministers had been before possessed of them from the Dutch Ambassadors themselves. And, some few days after, they entered into conferences upon this project at the French Ambassador's house, whom they found very easy in the terms the Dutch insisted on for their commerce,

which was all that could make any difficulty between them.

1677. About the end of April, the Ministers of the allies came, and presented us their several answers in writing to the French propositions; which they offered to leave with us, whenever we should assure them that the French and Swedes were ready with theirs. Upon this communication given to the French, they were positive to give no answer in writing, nor to receive any, alledging both reason and example for their opinion; this from the practice of the Munster treaty, that from the danger of the invective style or language that are apt to enter into the writings of each party upon such occasions. The allies were for some time as peremptory in their resolution of delivering their answer in writing; but both at last agreed upon the expedient we proposed, of dictating to us what they intended should be said to the other party, of our setting the substance down in writing, and reading it over to them first who dictated to us, so as they might be judges whether we had rightly apprehended and expressed their meaning; and yet the thing might go in our style, and not in theirs; by which all sharpness and provocation would be avoided.

About the middle of May, arrived President Canon, envoy from the Duke of Lorrain, and put his Master's pretensions into our hands; upon which the allies expected a return of those from France upon that Duke, no room being now left for delaying them from the want of a Minister upon the place: but the French said very plainly, it was a matter they were not instructed in; which the allies received with great stomach, and perpetual complaints to us the mediators; all professing they

were resolved not to proceed in the treaty, without carrying on the interests of that Duke, an equal pace with their own.

About the end of May, arrived the Pope's Nuncio; whereupon the Swedish and Danish Ambassadors resorted immediately to us, desiring to know how we intended to carry ourselves in what regarded that Minister; professing themselves to be much in pain, being on one side very much pressed, the Swedes by the French, and the Danes by the Imperialists and Spaniards, to the interchange at least of common ceremonies and civilities with a Minister for whom they all with emulation professed so great respect and deference: on the other side, the Swedes and Danes pretended neither to have instruction or example from their respective Courts, to determine them in this matter; but said they were resolved to observe and consider the steps that should be made by us. We cut the business very short, and declared to them our resolution to have no sort of commerce with the Pope's Nuncio, either in the affair of our function, or in matters of ceremony; and told them, our orders from Court were so precise in this point, that they would admit of no debate. The next day, Monsieur Colbert and Monsieur d'Avaux came formally to give us part of the Nuncio's arrival, and of his desire to make us his first compliments, if he might know they would be received: our answer to them was the same we had made to the Swedes and Danes; and, soon after, all the Ministers of Protestant Princes at Nimeguen resolved to follow our example, and to have no commerce at all with the Nuncio.

About the same time, after many messages carried by us between the parties, they were persuaded at last into the agreement of delivering and exchanging, by our hands, their answers to each others propositions in writing, though without pre-

tending to pursue that method in the succeeding paces of the negotiation. Nor was there need of that caution, for this I take to have been the last pace of any free and general negotiation between the parties engaged in the war and in the treaty; nor were the answers any thing nearer agreeing, than the first propositions.

The last day of May, arrived the Marquis de Balbaces, first ambassador from Spain; and, about the same time, my Lord Berkley returned into England, where he languished out the rest of the summer, and died.

About the 7th of June, the Dutch Ambassadors brought us the project of a treaty between them and France, digested and extended in all its forms and articles; and told us soon after, they had, in a conference upon it with the French Ambassadors, agreed in a manner all the points of it; at least, that there remained but two, which concerned commerce only, undetermined between them, which they doubted not would be agreed likewise upon return of the French dispatches from Court: that, after their business was ended, they would perform the best offices they could between their allies and the French. And indeed, by the beginning of July, all points were accordingly agreed between the French and Dutch, and Monsieur Van Beverning began to play the part of something more than mediator; pressing on his allies towards a peace with paces very earnest and something rough, and, as some believed, more than he had order for from his Masters, who yet pretended to hold hands with their allies. But Monsieur Van Beverning professed to believe, that their friends at the Hague were imposed upon by Van Beuninghen and the Spanish Ministers at London, who still animated them with hopes of the King's entering into the war, or at least prescribing a plan of the peace to

be received by all parties; which Van Beverning believed neither one nor the other of, and pretended to be morally assured of his opinion, and thereupon grounded the absolute necessity of a peace.

In this month, the Duke of Zell began to make a difficulty of sending the five thousand men he had promised to the allies, without some new stipulations; and the French offered a guaranty to the House of Lunenburg of all their conquests on the Swede in Bremen, upon a neutrality to be declared by those Dukes; which began to give great umbrages to the allies, as well as the Swedes, of some separate measures like to be concluded between France and the whole House of Brunswick. The Dutch Ambassadors were likewise in pain, upon new intelligence, both from Vienna and Madrid, about a separate peace being treated between Don John and the French, with an exchange of the Spanish Netherlands for what should be restored them in Roussillon and Sicily. The Ministers of the confederates made great instances in England, that his Majesty would recall his troops that were in the French service, attributing most of their successes in Germany to the bravery of those English regiments. But his Majesty excused it upon the equality of a mediator, since there were English troops of greater number in the service of the allies: who took this answer however for an ill sign of that prosecution which they hoped from his Majesty for the relief of their languishing affairs. The hopes of those great actions promised by the Imperialists this summer on the Rhine began to flat, their troops finding no subsistence in those countries, which had been wholly desolated by the French in the beginning of the year, to prevent their march. The Prince of Orange observing all these circumstances, and foreseeing no resource for the interest of the allies, unless from his Ma-

jesty; and that it was likely to prove an unactive summer in Flanders, the French resolving not to come to a battle, and he not able to form a siege, and oppose a French army that should come to relieve it; he sent Monsieur Bentinck over into England about the beginning of June, to desire his Majesty's leave that he might make a journey thither so soon as the campaign ended. He received a civil answer; but with wishes from the King, that he would first think of making the peace, and rather defer his journey till that were concluded.

About the middle of June, my son came over to me at Nimeguen, and brought me letters from my Lord Treasurer, to signify his Majesty's pleasure that I should come over, and enter upon the Secretary of State's office, which Mr. Coventry had offered his Majesty to lay down upon the payment of ten thousand pounds; that the King would pay half the money, and I must lay down the rest at present; though his Lordship did not doubt but the King would find the way of easing me in time of that too. I writ immediately to my Lord Treasurer to make my acknowledgement to his Majesty; but at the same time my excuses, that I was not in a condition to lay down such a sum, my father being still alive, and keeping the estate of the family; and desiring that the King's intention might at least be respited till he saw how the present treaty was like to determine. In return of my letters, on the second of July, Mr. Smith, one of the King's messengers, being sent express, and making great diligence, arrived at Nimeguen, and brought me his Majesty's commands to repair immediately over in a yacht which he had sent on purpose for me: in obedience to this command I left Nimeguen, but without any ceremony, pretending only a sudden journey to England, but say-

ing nothing of the occasion, further than to my nearest friends.

At my arrival, the King asked me many questions about my journey, about the congress, draping us for spending him so much money, and doing nothing; and about Sir Lionel, asking me how I had bred him, and how he passed among the Ambassadors there; and other pleasantries upon that subject. After a good deal of this kind of conversation, he told me, I knew for what he had sent for me over, and that it was what he had long intended; and I was not to thank him, because he did not know any body else to bring into that place. I told his Majesty, that it was too great a compliment for me, but was a very ill one to my country, and which I thought it did not deserve: that I believed there were a great many in it fit for that, or any other place he had to give; and I could name two in a breath that I would undertake should make better Secretaries of State than I. The King said, 'Go, get you gone to Sheen; we shall have no good of you till you have been there; and when you have rested yourself, come up again.' I never saw him in better humour, nor ever knew a more agreeable conversation when he was so; and where he was pleased to be familiar, great quickness of conception, great pleasantness of wit, with great variety of knowledge, more observation and truer judgment of men, than one would have imagined by so careless and easy a manner as was natural to him in all he said or did. From his own temper, he desired nothing but to be easy himself, and that every body else should be so; and would have been glad to see the least of his subjects pleased, and to refuse no man what he asked. But this softness of temper made him apt to fall into the persuasions of whoever had his kindness and confidence for the time, how different soever from

the opinions he was of before; and he was very easy to change hands, when those he employed seemed to have engaged him in any difficulties: so as nothing looked steady in the conduct of his affairs, nor aimed at any certain end. Yet sure no Prince has more qualities to make him loved, with a great many to make him esteemed, and all without a grain of pride or vanity in his whole constitution: nor can he suffer flattery in any kind, growing uneasy upon the first approaches of it, and turning it off to something else. But this humour has made him lose many great occasions of glory to himself, and greatness to his Crown, which the conjunctures of his reign conspired to put into his hand; and have made way for the aspiring thoughts and designs of a neighbour Prince, which would not have appeared, or could not have succeeded in the world, without the applications and arts employed to manage this easy and inglorious humour of the King.

I staid two days at Sheen, in which time some of Secretary Coventry's friends had prevailed with him not to part with his place, if he could help it, unless the King would let him recommend the person to succeed him, who should pay all the money he expected, and which the King had charged himself with. When I came to town, the King told me in his closet all that had passed between him and Mr. Coventry the day before upon this occasion: that he did not understand what he meant, nor what was at the bottom; for he had first spoken to his Majesty about parting with his place, said his health would not go through with it, made the price he expected for it, and concluded all before he had sent for me over: that now he pretended he did not mean to quit it, unless he might present one to succeed him; and he hoped he had not deserved his Majesty should turn him out. But the

King said upon it, that under favour, he was resolved to take him at his word; and so he had told him, and left him to digest it as he could. Upon this I represented to the King, how old and true a servant Mr. Coventry had been of his father and him; how well he had served him in this place; how well he was able to do it still by the great credit he had in the House of Commons, where the King's great business lay in the ill state of his revenue; how ill such a treatment would agree with his Majesty's nature and customs: and for my own part, that it would be a great favour to me to respite this change, till he saw what was like to become of the treaty, or the war; and therefore I begged of him that he would not force a good secretary out, and perhaps an ill one in, against both their wills; but let Mr. Coventry keep it, at least till he seemed more willing to part with it. The King said, Well then, he would let it alone for the present, but did not doubt, in a little time, one or other of us would change our mind.

In the mean time, the design of my journey was known, my Lord Arlington and others still asking me when they should give me joy of it, and many making applications to me for places in the office, which made the Court uneasier to me, and increased my known humour of loving the country, and being as much in it as I could. However, when I came to Court, the King fell often into conversation with me, and often in his closet alone, or with none other present besides the Duke or my Lord Treasurer, and often both. The subject of these conversations was usually the peace, and the Prince of Orange's journey into England. The King always expressed a great desire for the first, but not at all for the other till that was concluded. He said, his Parliament would never be quiet nor easy to him while the war lasted abroad: they had got it into

their heads to draw him into it, whether he would or no: that they pretended public ends, and dangers from France, and there might be both meant by a great many honest men among them; but the heats and distempers of late had been raised by some factious leaders, who thought more of themselves than of any thing else, had a mind to engage him in a war, and then leave him in it, unless they might have their terms in removing and filling of places; and he was very loth to be so much at their mercy, as he should be if he were once engaged in the war: that, besides, he saw the longer it continued, the worse it would be for the confederates; more of Flanders would be lost every day; the conduct of Spain must certainly ruin all in time; and therefore he would fain have the Prince make the peace for them, if they would not do it for themselves: that, if he and the Prince could fall into the terms of it, he was sure it might be done. And, after several discourses upon this subject for near a month, his Majesty at last told me, he had a great mind I should make a short turn to the Prince, and try if I could persuade him to it; and assure him, that, after it was agreed, he should be the gladdest in the world to see him in England. The Duke and my Lord Treasurer both pressed me upon the same point; but I told them, at a long conference upon it, how often I had been employed upon this errand to the Prince, how unmoveable I had found him, and how sure I was to find him so still, unless the King would consider of another scheme for the peace than had been yet proposed to him, and wherein he might reckon upon more safety to Flanders, as well as to his own honour: that I had spent all my shot, and was capable of saying no more to him than I had done, in obedience to all the instructions I had received: that his answers had been positive; so that some of my good friends at Court

pretended they had been my own thoughts rather than the Prince's: that his Majesty would do well to try another hand, and he would the better know the Prince's mind, if his answers were the same to both; if not, he would at least know how ill I had served him. The King said, it was a thing of confidence between him and the Prince, and must be so treated, and he knew no body he had besides to send. I told him, if he pleased, I would name one: he bid me; and I said Mr. Hide was idle ever since his return from Nimeguen, had been entered into the commission of the Mediators there, stayed with us a fortnight or three weeks, might pretend to return thither to exercise the same function in my absence, since the commission ran to any two of the number, and might take the Prince of Orange's camp in his way to Nimeguen, perform the King's commands to his Highness, inform himself of his last resolution upon the subject of the peace, go on to Nimeguen without giving any jealousy to the allies, or without the noise that my going would make, since Sir Lionel had writ to Court and to me, that Monsieur Van Beverning had desired all paces should stop there till my return, which he heard would be sudden, and that the King would send by me his own plan of the peace. The Duke fell in first to the proposal of Mr. Hide's going; and, after some debate, the King and my Lord Treasurer, and that it should be as soon as possible. He was sent for accordingly, and dispatched away in all points as I had proposed. He found the Prince at the camp, but unmoveable in the business of the peace upon the terms his Majesty had thoughts of proceeding; gave account of all that passed in that conference to the King, and went straight away to Nimeguen, and writ me word of his conversation with the Prince, and that he never saw such a firmness in any man.

I knew Mr. Hide's going to reside at Nimeguen would be of great comfort and support to Sir Lionel, who was in perpetual agonies (as his word was) after he was left alone in that station; having ever so much distrust of his own judgment, that, though he had the greatest desire that could be to do well, yet he many times could not resolve how to go about it; and was often as much perplexed about the little punctilios of visit and ceremony that were left to busy that embassy, as if greater affairs had still attended it. Besides, he lay under the lash of Secretary Williamson, who, upon old grudges between them at Cologne, never failed to lay hold of any occasion he could to censure his conduct, and expose it at the foreign committee, where his letters were read to his Majesty. It happened about this time that the Spanish Ambassadors, first appearing in public upon a new commission to all three, gave immediate notice of it to the Imperialists, who made their visit upon it, and were within two hours revisited by the Spaniards. After which, they sent their formal notifications to all the other Ambassadors, and to the mediators in the first place. Sir Lionel was in pain, having orders to pretend the first rank of respect before the Imperialists as well as other Ambassadors there; and not to yield if it came in competition. He had likewise another order, which was, that upon matters in ceremony, doubtful, and not admitting the delay of new orders, he should consult with the other Ambassadors, especially French and Swedish, who used to carry those points the highest, and govern himself as well as he could by precedents and examples. He consulted both these Ambassadors, whether he should visit the Spaniards, after their having given the first notice to the Imperialists: and they concluded, that he should first know of them whether it was done in form, as to Ambassa-

dors in general; or whether it was upon the account of the near alliance in blood between those two Houses of Austria: that, if it were the first, he ought not to visit them, as having put a disrespect upon the mediation, and distinguished the Emperor from all the other crowned heads, who had yielded the precedence wholly to them; which they would not have done if the Emperor had refused it. But if the Spaniards affirmed it was only upon the nearness of blood between them, none of the other Ambassadors need take any notice of it, since the same had been done between those two Crowns at Munster upon the same score; which being there declared, it gave no offence to the mediators, though they were the Pope's Nuncios, with whom there was otherwise no competition. Sir Lionel was satisfied by the Spaniards (who gave it him in writing) that the visits were made only upon the score of kindred, as at Munster; and thereupon made them his visit, and received theirs: for which he was sharply reproved by Secretary Williamson's letter upon it, who had represented it to the King as a disobedience to a positive order, and giving up the point to the Imperialists. But, being at Court soon after these dispatches, I endeavoured to justify my colleague's intentions and his proceedings, by shewing that he had conformed to his other orders of consulting the other Ambassadors, and proceeding according to the best precedent, which was that of Munster; and that, if he had broken with the Spaniards upon this point, he would have provoked the Imperialists to declare their resolution of not yielding to the Mediators, upon which the other Ambassadors would recall the concession which they had already made in this point, and so hazard, if not lose, the possession his Majesty was in, of the first respect given to his mediation. I had the good fortune to satisfy his

Majesty and his Ministers, and to obtain orders for his gracious pardon to be sent to Sir Lionel (for they would suffer it to run in no other terms); for which, however, the poor gentleman made as great acknowledgments as if his fault had been much greater and worse meant.

The rest of this summer passed without any further paces made in the congress at Nimeguen; where the messages carried and returned about the business of Lorrain, served to keep the Mediators in countenance, and no more. The whole body of the allies pressed for an answer from the French to that Duke's pretensions, delivered in by President Canon. The French, after their former exception of his wanting a Minister there, raised another to stave off these instances of the allies, and declared they could give no answer about Lorrain, till the Bishop of Strasburg's agents were received by the allies; upon which the Emperor made an invincible difficulty, declaring he would never treat with a vassal of his own: and in these conferences about Lorrain, the French Ambassadors began to insinuate to the Mediators, that their Master never intended that to be treated as a principal, but only as an accessary to the treaty.

In August arrived at Nimeguen the Bishop of Gurck, chief of the Imperial embassy; and Count Antoine, of that from Denmark: the first was immediately visited by the Spanish Ambassadors, and returned it; after which he sent his notifications to the Mediators, and from them to the other Ambassadors; upon which no difficulty was made by them, since the Bishop made the same declaration the Spaniards had done before upon the like occasion, that the first visits, passing between the Ministers of the two Houses of Austria, were visits of kindness and consanguinity, and not of ceremony. But Count Antoine fell into endless diffi-

culties upon his first arrival. He intended to have sent his first notification to the Mediators, as others had done; but the Imperialists, having notice of this intention, sent him direct word, they expected the first respect should be given to the Emperor; and this was the first time they owned that pretension, in prejudice of the honour hitherto done to the King's mediation. Count Antoine sent Monsieur Heug, his colleague, to acquaint the Mediators with this incident, and desire them to find out some expedient: they excused themselves, alledging their positive orders to expect the first notification: the Danes were as unwilling to disoblige his Majesty as the Emperor; and found no temper in this matter, after many offered both by French and Dutch Ambassadors; so that Count Antoine resolved to leave it undecided, and to give no notifications, or receive or make any visits, but however assisted at the conferences among the allies, and made a part of all the evening entertainments, at play and in conversation, in the apartments of the several Ambassadrices; and this course he observed during his stay at Nimeguen, which was seven or eight months: for the rest, a person very much esteemed for his generous qualities, and gentlemanly humour and conversation, and yielding to none upon the place in the greatness and splendour of his equipage; wherein the Marquis de Balbaces and Count Antoine seemed to distinguish themselves from all the rest.

About the end of July, the Prince of Orange made an attempt upon Charleroy, rather than a siege. This had been before concerted with the Duke of Lorrain, who made a mien of entering into Champagne, on purpose to draw off the French forces from attending the Prince's motions and design upon Charleroy. The Prince had hopes to take it by surprise; but found them of the garrison

upon their guard, and very strong, as well as the place, which had been fortified with all the force of art and expence that could be employed upon a place of that compass. He sat down before it, and would have besieged it in form, if the Duke of Lorrain could have diverted the French army from relieving it; but Monsieur de Louvois, with great diligence, leaving the Marshal de Crequi with force enough to face that Duke, assembled a very great army for the relief of Charleroy; upon approach whereof, the Prince called a council of war, to resolve whether to march and fight the French army, or raise the siege. The last was resolved, upon debate at the council, and accordingly executed, and therewith ended this campaign in Flanders. But this march and retreat of the Prince passed not without many reflections, not only among the allies, but in Holland too, as if he had given over the design upon some intelligences and expresses between him and the King about this time. Monsieur Bentinck had gone over and returned without any body's knowing his business: my Lord Ossory happened to arrive in the camp the day before the council of war upon which the siege was raised; which made many think something his Lordship brought from England was the occasion of it. But I could never find there was any thing more in his journey than the hopes of seeing a battle (which was ever a particular inclination of my Lord Ossory), and a cast of my Lord Arlington to preserve himself in the Prince's favour and confidence as much as he could, by my Lord Ossory's keeping close to him at a time when he saw the business of Christendom roll so much upon the person of the Prince.

About this time the assembly at Nimeguen seemed in danger of being broken by a passionate motion the Swedes made in it. There had been

a long contest since it first began, between the Swedes and Danes, about freedom of passage for the Swedish couriers through the Danish territories, for managing the correspondencies necessary with their Court. The Danes pretended the example of France, who refused the same liberty to the Spaniards. This dispute had been managed by many messages, wherewith the mediators had been charged between the parties, wherein the allies of both sides took equal part. Sometimes the matter had been treated with very pressing instances, and sometimes with fainter; sometimes almost let fall, and then again resumed; and thus for above a year past: but about this time the Swedes come to the Mediators, desire their offices once more to the Danes upon this subject, and declare, that, without this liberty insisted upon so long for their couriers, they find themselves incapable of giving advices necessary to their Court, or receiving orders necessary from it; and that, without it, they must be forced to leave the assembly. This resolution of the Swedes continued for some time so peremptory, that it was expected to come to that issue; but after some *fougue* spent for about a fortnight or three weeks upon this occasion, and some temperament found out by the Dutch for the secure and speedy passage of all the Swedish dispatches by Amsterdam, those Ambassadors began to grow soft and calm again; and to go on their usual pace. Soon after, the French Ambassadors, who had treated the Swedish affairs and Ministers with great indifferency and neglect in this treaty (declaring to Monsieur Van Beverning, their Master would not part with one town in Flanders to restore the Swedes to all they had lost), began wholly to change their language, and say upon all occasions, that France could not make a peace without the full satisfaction and restitution

of the Swedes; and it was discoursed, that the French and Swedes had entered into a new alliance at Paris to this purpose: and some believed it was by concert between them that this *atteinte* was given by the Swedes to the congress; that the French had at that time a mind to break it, and to enter into a treaty with Spain under the Pope's direction, and at Rome, not knowing to what measures his Majesty might be induced upon the progress of the French conquests, and the distempers raised in his Parliament upon that occasion. But, this gust blown over, all was becalmed at Nimeguen; so that Monsieur Olivecrans left that place about the end of August, upon a journey to Sweden.

Till this time the motions of business had been respited in the assembly upon a general expectation that the King was sending me over suddenly with the plan of a peace that he resolved should be made, and to which it was not doubted but all parties would yield, whatever it was; so great a regard was held, on all sides, of his Majesty's will and power. But a greater stop was yet given to all further paces there by the Prince of Orange's journey into England, about the end of September 1677, which wholly changed the scene of this treaty, and for the present carried it over to London, and left all other places at a gaze only, and in expectation of what should be there agitated and concluded.

CHAPTER III.

The Prince, like a hasty lover, came post from Harwich to Newmarket, where the Court then was, as a season and place of country sports. My Lord Arlington attended his Highness at his alighting, making his pretence of the chief confidence

with him; and the Court expected it upon his alliance and journeys into Holland. My Lord Treasurer and I went together to wait on him, but met him upon the middle of the stairs, in a great crowd, coming down to the King. He whispered to us both together, and said to me, that he must desire me to answer for him and my Lord Treasurer one to another, so as they might from that time enter both into business and conversation, as if they had been of a longer acquaintance; which was a wise strain, considering his Lordship's credit in Court at that time, and was of great use to the Prince in the course of his affairs then in England; and though it much shocked my Lord Arlington and his friends, yet it could not be wondered at by such as knew what had passed of late between the Prince and him, with whom he only lived in common forms during his stay. He was very kindly received by the King and the Duke, who both invited him often into discourses of business, which they wondered to see him avoid or divert industriously, so as the King bid me find out the reason of it. The Prince told me, he was resolved to see the young Princess before he entered into affairs; and to proceed in that, before the other of the peace. The King laughed at this piece of nicety when I told it him; but however, to humour him in it, said he would go some days sooner than he had intended from Newmarket; which was accordingly done.

The Prince, upon his arrival in town, and sight of the Princess, was so pleased with her person, and all those signs of such a humour as had been described to him upon former inquiries, that he immediately made his suit to the King and the Duke; which was very well received and assented to, but with this condition, that the terms of a peace abroad might be first agreed on between them.

The Prince excused himself, and said he must end his first business before he began the other. The King and Duke were both positive in their opinion, and the Prince resolute in his; and said at last, that his allies, who were like to have hard terms of the peace as things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this match at their cost, and, for his part, he would never sell his honour for a wife. This prevailed not, but the King continued so positive for three or four days, that my Lord Treasurer and I began to doubt the whole business would break upon this punctilio. About that time I chanced to go to the Prince after supper, and found him in the worst humour that I ever saw him: he told me, he repented he had ever come into England, and resolved he would stay but two days longer, and then be gone, if the King continued in his mind of treating upon the peace before he was married; but that, before he went, the King must chuse how they should live hereafter, for he was sure it must be either like the greatest friends or the greatest enemies; and desired me to let his Majesty know so next morning, and give him an account of what he should say upon it. I did so, early in the morning; told the King all the Prince had said to me the night before, and the ill consequences of a breach between them, considering the ill humour of so many of his subjects upon our late measures with France, and the invitations made the Prince by several of them during the late war. The King heard me with great attention; and, when I had done, said, 'Well, I never yet was deceived in judging of a man's honesty by his looks (of which he gave me some examples), and if I am not deceived in the Prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world, and I will trust him, and he shall have his wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my brother

so, and that it is a thing I am resolved on.' I did so, and the Duke at first seemed a little surprised; but when I had done, he said, 'The King shall be obeyed, and I would be glad all his subjects would learn of me to obey him: I do tell him my opinion very freely upon any thing; but when that is done, and I know his pleasure upon it, I obey him.' From the Duke I went to the Prince, and told him my story, which he could at first hardly believe, but embraced me, and said I had made him a very happy man, and very unexpectedly: and so I left him to give the King an account of what had passed, and in the Prince's anti-chamber met my Lord Treasurer, and told him the story, who undertook to adjust all the rest between the King and the Prince; which he did so well, that the match was declared that evening at the committee, before any other in Court knew any thing of it; and next day it was declared in council, and received there and every where else in the kingdom, with the most universal joy that ever I saw any thing in the King's reign. The French Ambassador and my Lord Arlington appeared the only two persons unsatisfied upon it at Court; the first not knowing how he should answer it to his Master, that an affair of that importance should pass without his communication, much less advice, in a Court where nothing before had done so for many years; and my Lord Arlington, that it should pass without his knowledge, who still endeavoured to keep up the Court-opinion of his confidence with the Prince; who told me the compliment his Lordship had made him upon it, that some things good in themselves were spoiled by the manner of doing them, as some things bad were mended by it; but he would confess this was a thing so good in itself, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it.

Within two or three days the marriage was con-

summated, and immediately after, they fell into the debates upon the terms of the peace; to which, as to that of the match, none but my Lord Treasurer and I were admitted. The Prince insisted hard upon the strength and enlargement of a frontier on both sides of Flanders; without which, France, he said, would end this war with the view of beginning another, and carrying Flanders in one campaign. The King was content to leave that business a little looser; upon the confidence that France was so weary of this war, that, if they could get out of it with honour, they would never begin another in this reign; that the King grew past his youth, and lazy, and would turn to the pleasures of the Court, and building, and leave his neighbours in quiet. The Prince thought France would not make a peace now, but to break the present confederacy, and to begin another war with more advantage and surprise; that their ambition would never end till they had all Flanders and Germany to the Rhine, and thereby Holland in an absolute dependence upon them; which would leave them in an ill condition, and us in no good one; and that Christendom could not be left safe by the peace, without such a frontier as he proposed for Flanders, and the restitution of Lorrain, as well as what the Emperor had lost in Alsace. Upon this I told the King, that, in the course of my life, I had never observed men's natures to alter by age or fortunes; but that a good boy made a good man; and a young coxcomb, an old fool; and a young fripon, an old knave; and that quiet spirits were so, young as well as old, and unquiet ones would be so, old as well as young: that I believed the King of France would always have some bent or other, sometimes war, sometimes love, sometimes building; but that I was of the Prince's opinion, that he would make peace with a design of a new war, after he had fix-

ed his conquest by the last: and the King approved what I said. The points of Lorrain and Alsace were easily agreed to by the King and Duke; but they would not hear of the county of Burgundy, as what France could never be brought to, though the Prince insisted much upon it; so as the King imagined he was touched by the interest of his own lands in that country (which are greater and more seigneurial than those of the Crown of Spain there), and thereupon told him, that for his lands he would charge himself with either his enjoying them as safely under France, as Spain; or, if he should rather choose to part with them, than have that dependence, he would undertake to get him what price he should himself value them at. But the Prince answered briskly and generously, that he should not trouble himself nor the peace about that matter; and that he would be content to lose all his lands there, to get one good town more for the Spaniards, upon the frontier of Flanders. So all difficulties began to terminate upon what was esteemed necessary there. This admitted great debates between the King and Prince; one pretending France would never be brought to one scheme, and the other, that Spain would never consent to the other. But at last it was agreed, that the peace should be made upon these terms: All to be restored by France to the Empire and Emperor that had been taken in the war; the duchy of Lorrain to that Duke; and all on both sides between France and Holland; and to Spain the towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Ghislain, and Binch. That the Prince should endeavour to procure the consent of Spain, and his Majesty that of France; for which purpose he should send some person immediately over with the proposition, who should be instructed to enter into no reasonings upon it, but demand

a positive answer in two days, and after that term immediately return. The question was, Who should go? and my Lord Treasurer said, It must be he or I, for none else had been acquainted with the debate of this business. The Prince said, It must be I, for my Lord Treasurer could not be spared; and it must be some person upon whose judgment and truth he could rely, as to the intentions of that Court. The King ordered me to be ready in two days, which I was; and the evening before I was to go, meeting his Majesty in the park, he called me to him, and a little out of countenance, told me, he had been thinking of my journey and my errand, and how unwelcome I should be in France as well as my message; and, having a mind to gain the peace, he was unwilling to anger them more than needs. Besides, the thing being not to be reasoned or debated, any body else would serve the turn as well as I, whom he had other use of; and therefore he had been thinking to send some other person. I saw he doubted I would take it ill; but told him, and very truly, he would do me the greatest pleasure in the world; for I never had less mind to any journey in my life, and should not have accepted it, but in perfect obedience. The King, that was the gentlest Prince in the world of his own nature, fell into good humour upon seeing I took it not ill, pretended to think whom he should send, and at last asked me what I thought of my Lord Duras? I said, Very well; upon which he seemed to resolve it. But the thing had been agreed in the morning, as I was told, upon the Duke's desire, who thought France would accept the terms, and that the peace would be made, and had a mind to have the honour of it, by sending a servant of his own. Whether there were any other motive, I know not; but my Lord Duras went immediately with the orders before-mentioned; and, some few days

after, the Prince and Princess embarked for Holland; where affairs pressed his return beyond the hopes of my Lord Duras's from France; the King assuring him, he would never part from the least point of the scheme sent over, and would enter into the war against France, if they refused it. However, he went not away without a great mortification, to see the Parliament prorogued to next spring; which the French Ambassador had gained of the King, to make up some good mien with France after the Prince's marriage, and before the dispatch of the terms of a peace to that Court.

Upon my Lord Duras's arrival at Paris, the Court there were surprised, both at the thing, and more at the manner; but made good mien upon it, took it gently, said, the King knew very well he might always be master of the peace; but some of the towns in Flanders seemed very hard, especially Tournay, upon whose fortifications such vast treasures had been expended; and that they would take some short time to consider of the answer. My Lord Duras told them, he was tied to two days stay; but when that was out, he was prevailed with to stay some few days longer, and to come away without a positive answer: what he brought was, what they had said to him before, that the most Christian King hoped his brother would not break with him upon one or two towns; but, even upon them too, he would send orders to his Ambassador at London to treat with his Majesty himself. By this gain of time, and artificial drawing it into treaty without any positive refusal, this blow came to be eluded, which could not easily have been so any other way. The King was softened by the softness of France: the Ambassador said at last, he had leave to yield all but Tournay, and to treat even for some equivalent for that too, if the King insisted absolutely upon it. The Prince was gone, who had spirited

the vigour of the whole resolution; and the treaty of it began to draw out into messages and returns from France.

However, the ill humour of people growing higher, upon the noise of a peace, and negotiated in France, and the late prorogation of Parliament, this was by proclamation anticipated soon after my Lord Duras's return, though a thing something unusual, and a countenance made as if the King resolved to enter into the war: for which the Parliament seemed impatient, whenever the King seemed averse to it; but grew jealous of some tricks, whenever the Court seemed inclined to it. About the end of December 1677, the King sent for me to the foreign committee, and told me, he could get no positive answer from France, and therefore resolved to send me into Holland, to make a league there with the States, for forcing both France and Spain, if either refused, to make the peace upon the terms he had proposed. I told the King, what he had agreed was to enter into the war with all the confederates, in case of no direct and immediate answer from France: that this, perhaps, would satisfy both the Prince and confederates abroad, and the people at home: but to make such a league with Holland only would satisfy none of them, and disoblige both France and Spain; besides, it would not have an effect or force as the triple alliance had; that being a great original, of which this seemed but an ill copy; and therefore excused myself from going. The King was set upon it, though I pretended domestic affairs of great importance upon the death of my father: and pleaded so hard, that the Duke at last desired the King not to press me upon a thing I was so averse from, and would be so inconvenient to me; and desired I might propose who should be sent with the treaty. I made my acknowledgments to the Duke for his favour,

and proposed that Mr. Thynn should be sent from the office with a draught of the treaty to Mr. Hide, who was then come from Nimeguen to the Hague, upon a visit to the Princess. This was done, and the treaty signed there on the sixteenth of January, though not without great difficulties and dissatisfaction of the Prince; who was yet covered in it by the private consent of the Spanish Minister there, in behalf of his Master; so as the war could not break but upon France, in case of their refusal.

In the mean time, France draws out the treaty upon the terms at London into length, never raising more than one difficulty at a time, and expostulating the unkindness of breaking for the single town of Tournay, though that was indeed more important than any three of the others, being the only strong one to guard that side of the frontier, and giving way for any sudden invasion upon Ghent, and Antwerp, and the very heart of the country. But while this game was playing in England, they had another on foot in Holland, especially at Amsterdam, by raising jealousies of the measures taken between the King and Prince upon the marriage, as dangerous to the liberties of Holland; and making it there believed, that, by the match, the King and Duke had drawn over the Prince wholly into their interests or sentiments: whereas the Prince went away possessed to have by it drawn them indeed into his. They proposed to the Dutch other terms of peace, far short of the King's, and less safe for Flanders, restoring only six towns to the Spaniards, and mentioning Lorrain but ambiguously; which would not have gone down in Holland, but for the suspicions raised by the Prince's marriage among the people there, who had an incurable jealousy of our Court, and thereupon not that confidence of the Prince that he deserved.

There were two ruling burgomasters at Amster-

dam at this time, who had the whole sway of that town, (as this has a great one in Holland,) Hoeft and Valkenier; the first, a generous, honest man; of great patrimonial riches, learning, wit, humour, without ambition, having always refused all employments the State had offered him, and serving only in that of burgomaster of his town in his turn, and as little busy in it as he could; a true genius, and that said two things to me in conversation I had not heard before: one, That a man, who were to die to-morrow in torment, would yet enjoy to-day, if he were *sain* [sound]; and that it was some disease or decay of spirits that hindered it: the other, That a man was a *coyon* [a sorry wight] who desired to live after threescore; and that for his part, after that age, which he was then approaching, he should be glad of the first good occasion to die: and this he made good, dying with neglect upon a fit of the gout, talking with his friends till he was just spent, then sending them away that he might not die in their sight; and, when he found himself come a little again, sending for them up, and telling them, *qu'il y avoit encore pour une demy heure de conversation* [that he had life still for one half hour's conversation]. This was the character of Monsieur Hoeft, who was a great intimate of mine, though he passed for a humorous man; and told me I was the only Ambassador he had ever visited in his life. He had all the credit that could be in his town, without seeking, or minding, or using it; whereas Valkenier sought and courted it all that could be, without having half the other's, being a morose and formal man, but of great industry, much thought, and, as was believed, avarice, and making the turns easily that were necessary in the government to carry his ends. These two had long been enemies, and thought irreconcileable, till the French instruments at this time, with great art and

industry, made up the quarrel, and joined them both in the design of making the peace upon the terms offered by France.

The Parliament meets in January by anticipation of the session, which seemed to import something of great consequence. The King acquaints them with the league he had made in Holland, and asks them money upon it for putting himself in a posture to carry on the war if the peace failed; which the Parliament gave him, upon the hopes of the war, and not of the peace. The constitution of this Parliament, that had sat seventeen years, was grown into two known factions, which were called, that of Court and Country: the Court-party were grown numerous, by a practice introduced by my Lord Clifford, of downright buying off one man after another, as they could make the bargain. The Country-party was something greater yet in number, and kept in more credit upon the corruption of others, and their own pretence of steadiness to the true interest of the nation, especially in the points of France and popery. Where these came in question, many of the Court-party voted with those of the Country, who then carried all before them; but whenever the Court seemed to fall in with the true interests of the nation, especially in those two points, then many of the Country-party, meaning fairly, fell in with the Court, and carried the votes; as they now did, upon the King's pretence to grow bold with France, and to resolve upon the war if the peace were refused.

In October, Friburg had been taken by a feint of the Duke of Crequi, before the Duke of Lorrain could come to relieve it; and in the same month Stetin had been taken by the Elector of Brandenburg, after a vigorous resistance; which left the scales as even as they were before between the two leagues.

In January, upon the delays of France to agree to the King's conditions of a peace, his Majesty entered into a negotiation with the Ministers of the confederates at London, in case France went on to refuse them. But the hopes of a peace were on a sudden dashed by the French attempts upon Ypres, and threats of Ostend, whither the King immediately sends forces over, at the desire of the Spanish Ambassador, for security of that important place. Nor did the French Ambassador seem to resent at all this pace of his Majesty, but continued his court and treaty with all the fairness that could be.

Towards the end of February, the King of France marching in the head of his army, and carrying the Queen and ladies to Metz, seemed to threaten Luxembourg, or Namur, or Mons; but, having drawn the Spanish forces that way, on a sudden crosses the country, sits down before Ghent, and by the end of the month takes both that town and Ypres, and thereby gives a mighty alarm to Holland, and strengthens the credit and endeavours of those he had already disposed to his terms of a peace, as grown now absolutely necessary; while England seemed resolved to go into the war, or at least furnished the confederates with many such hopes. About the 1st of April, France made a public declaration of the terms upon which they were resolved to make the peace; which, though very different from those agreed between his Majesty and Holland, and more from the pretensions of the allies, yet having, as to what concerned Spain and Holland, been first privately agreed with some leaders of the principal towns, proved indeed the plan of the peace both for Holland, and all the other confederates engaged in the war. And here the French began that imperious way of treating, which they afterwards pursued in the whole nego-

tiation of the ensuing peace; declaring such and such were the conditions they would admit, and no other, and upon which their enemies might choose either peace or war, as they pleased, and to which France pretended not to be tied longer than to the 10th of May, after which they would be at liberty to change or restrain them as they should think fit.

About this time I happened to be with my Lord Treasurer one evening in his closet when a packet came to him from Mr. Montague ambassador at Paris, giving him an account of a large conference Monsieur de Louvois had lately had with him, by the King his Master's order; wherein he represented the measures they had already taken for a peace in Holland upon the French terms: that, since they were agreed there, they hoped his Majesty would not be against it: that, however, France had ordered him to make his Majesty the offer of a great sum of money for his consent, though to a thing already accepted by Holland, and wherein his Majesty was consequently not concerned: that Monsieur de Louvois desired the Ambassador to write this immediately to the Lord Treasurer, and to offer him a very considerable sum for himself, that should be sent over in money, jewels, or by bills, as he should choose: and Mr. Montague added, that it was desired this affair should be treated only between them two, and not communicated to either of the Secretaries of State. My Lord Treasurer read the letter to me; and I said, 'Well, my Lord, what do you say to the offer?' He answered, that he thought it was the same thing, as if it should be made to the King, to have Windsor put into the French hands, and so he should treat it; and that we had nothing to do but to go on with our treaty with the confederates. This his Lordship and I were charged with, and had brought near a conclusion, when letters came from Mr.

Hide, with representations made him, from the Pensioner at the Hague, of the dispositions in Holland running violently into a peace, and the absolute necessity he thought there was of concluding it, upon the taking of Ghent, and danger of Antwerp, which was then threatened, and the loss whereof would be so fatal to the trade of Holland, especially Amsterdam. Hereupon Mr. Godolphin was dispatched immediately into Holland, to bring the last and surest account he could get of the resolutions there upon this affair, and return with the greatest speed he could. He did so, and brought the same account of all dispositions which Mr. Hide had given; and, in the process of our treaty with the confederates, Monsieur Van Beuninghen, when he came to the point, was forced to confess, that he had no powers to conclude, without first communicating to the States, which must draw into length and uncertainty.

About this time, the French Ambassador began to change his language, who had ever before pretended that his Majesty should be always arbiter of the peace; but now assuring that his Master had agreed with Holland, he seemed to wonder and expostulate, why the King should pretend to obtain better terms for the Spaniards, than their allies the Dutch were content with.

I was then pressed by the King and Lord Treasurer to go into Holland to know their final resolutions, whether they would yet go on with the war in case his Majesty should go into it? But I excused myself, knowing the Dutch were too much pressed, by so near approaches of France, to declare themselves upon a reserve of the King's; and said, If his Majesty resolved to go that way, he must first take his measures with the Parliament for the war, and then send them word in Holland, he was ready to declare it in case they would pursue it:

and, upon this message, I knew the Dutch so well, as to believe they would do it, and keep close to their late alliance with his Majesty. This the King was unwilling to do; but posted Mr. Godolphin again into Holland about the middle of April, to know their final resolutions, and prorogued the Parliament for fourteen days.

During these negotiations, and since the money given by the Parliament, and in six weeks time, the King had raised an army of about twenty thousand men, the completest, and in all appearance the bravest troops that could be any where seen; and might have raised many more upon so great a concurrence of the people's humour with his Majesty's seeming design of entering into a war against France: and it was confessed by all the foreign Ministers, that no King in Christendom could have made and completed such a levy as this appeared in such a time.

My Lord Treasurer, upon the 20th, came to me, and assured me of the King's resolution being at length fixed to go into the war; and desired me to prepare what the King was to say to the Parliament upon this occasion; which I did. When I carried it to my Lord Treasurer, I met there letters from Mr. Hide and Mr. Godolphin, that Holland absolutely desired a peace, even upon the terms proposed by France; and had resolved to send Monsieur Van Lewen over hither, to dispose the King to be contented with them: He arrived, and the King sent me immediately to him to know his errand. He was the chief of the town of Leyden, and had joined with Amsterdam, Haerlem, Delft, and some others, in promoting the peace, even upon the French conditions; but being a man of great honour and worth, and having done it upon the suspicion that England was still at bottom in with France, and that all the rest was but grimace;

the Prince had procured him to be sent over, on purpose to satisfy himself (and thereby his complices for the peace) that the King's intentions were determined to enter into the war, which his Highness thought the only means to prevent the peace.

When I came to Monsieur Van Lewen, he told me freely, that it was the most against their hearts in Holland that could be, to make a peace upon terms so low and unsafe for Flanders; and that, if the King had gone into war, as was promised, upon France delaying or refusing to accept his scheme, they would certainly have continued it: but his Majesty's proceedings looked ever since so uncertain or unresolved, that it had raised jealousies in Holland of our measures being at bottom fixed and close with France; which made most of the towns in Holland think they had nothing else left to do, but to go in with them too as fast as they could, and the approach of the French army to Antwerp left them now no time to deliberate; yet he professed to me in private, that if the King would immediately declare the war, he believed the States would still go on with it, in pursuit of their alliance, and the terms therein contained.

I made this report to the King, who seemed positive to declare the war, in case the Parliament advised him, and promised to support it; when an unlucky peevish vote, moved by Sir T—— C—— in spite to my Lord Treasurer, passed the House of Commons, that no money should be given, till satisfaction was received in matters of religion. This left all so loose and so lame, that the King was in a rage, reproached me with my popular notions, as he termed them; and asked me when, or how, I thought he could trust the House of Commons to carry him through the war, if he should engage in it? And I had not much indeed to say, considering the temper and factions of the House;

nor could I well clear it to myself, by my observation, whether the King was firmly resolved to enter into the war; or, if he did, whether the House of Commons would have supported him in it, or turned it only to ruin the Ministers by the King's necessities. It is certain, no vote could ever have passed more unhappily, nor in such a counter season, nor more cross to the humour of the House, which seemed generally bent upon engaging his Majesty in the war; and the person that moved it was, I believe, himself as much of that mind as any of the rest; but having, since the loss of his employment at Court, ever acted a part of great animosity in opposition to the present Ministry, in whose hands soever it was; this private ill humour carried him contrary to his public intentions, as it did many more in the House, who pretended to be very willing to supply the King upon occasion of the war, or even of his debts, but that they would not do it during my Lord Treasurer's Ministry. In short, there was such a fatal and mutual distrust both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any sound measures between them. The King, at last, now saw he had lost his time of entering into the war, if he had a mind to it; and that he ought to have done it (upon my Lord Duras's return, and) with the whole confederacy. And my Lord Essex told me, I had been a prophet, in refusing to go into Holland to make that alliance, which had, as I said, pleased none at home or abroad, and had now lost all our measures in Holland, and turned theirs upon France.

But the turn that the King gave all this was, that, since the Dutch would have a peace upon the French terms, and France offered money for his consent to what he could not help, he did not know why he should not get the money; and thereupon ordered me to treat upon it with the French Am-

bassador, who had orders to that purpose. I would have excused myself; but he said, I could not help seeing him, for he would be with me at my house by seven next morning: he accordingly came, and I told him very truly, I had been ill in the night, and could not enter into business. The Ambassador was much disappointed, and pressed me all he could; but I defended myself upon my illness, till at length he left me without entering upon any thing. When I got up, I went immediately to Sheen, writ to my Lord Treasurer by my wife, May the tenth, 1678, how much I was unsatisfied with being put upon such a treaty with the French Ambassador, that belonged not at all to my post, and which they knew I thought dishonourable to the King; and thereupon I offered to resign to his Majesty both my embassy at Nimeguen, and promise of Secretary of State's place, to be disposed of by his Majesty as he pleased. My Lord Treasurer sent me word, the King forced no man upon what he had no mind to; but if I resolved this should be said to him, I must do it myself, or by some other, for he would not make my court so ill as to say it for me; and so it rested, and I continued at Sheen, without stirring till the King sent for me.

In the mean time, from the beginning of May, the ill humour of the House of Commons began to break out by several discourses and votes against the Ministers and their conduct; which increased the ill opinion his Majesty had conceived of their intentions in pressing him to enter upon a war. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he had (as I was told by a good hand) conceived such an indignation at one article of the private treaty proposed by Monsieur Barillon, that he said he would never forget it while he lived; and though he said nothing to me of his resentment, yet he seemed at this time

more resolved to enter into the war, than I had ever before seen or thought him.

Monsieur de Ruvigny, the son, was dispatched into France to know the last intentions of that Court upon the terms of the peace proposed by his Majesty, but brought no answer clear or positive; so as his Majesty went on to complete his levies, and to prepare for the war: but, May the eleventh, the House of Commons passed another negative upon the debate of money; which so offended the King, that he prorogued them for ten days, believing in that time his intentions to enter into the war would appear so clear as to satisfy the House, and put them in better humour. Monsieur Van Lewen, distasted with these delays, and the counterpaces between King and Parliament, begins to discourse boldly of the necessity his Masters found to make the peace as they could, since there was no relying upon any measures with England for carrying on the war, and the season was too far advanced to admit any longer delays. Upon these discourses from him, his Majesty began to cool his talk of a war, and to say, the peace must be left to the course which Holland had given it: and though, upon May the twenty-third, the Parliament met, and seemed in much better temper than they parted, yet news coming about the same time that Monsieur Van Beverning was sent by the States to the French Court at Ghent, to propose a cessation of arms for six weeks, in order to negotiate and agree the terms of the peace in that time, the affair began now to be looked upon, both in Court and Parliament, as a thing concluded, or at least as like to receive no other motion than what should be given it by Holland and France. And indeed, the dispositions were so inclined to it on both sides, that the terms were soon adjusted between them.

These articles having been so public, I shall not trouble myself to insert them, but only say, they seemed so hard, both to Spain, and to the Northern Princes, who had made great conquests upon the Swedes, that they all declared they would never accept them; and when the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen desired Sir Lionel Jenkins to carry them to the confederates, he refused to do it, or to have any part in a treaty or conditions of peace, so different from what the King his Master had proposed, and what both his Majesty and Holland had obliged themselves to pursue by their late treaty at the Hague.

About this time, France, by a conduct very surprising, having sent Monsieur de la Feuillade to Messina, with a common expectation of re-inforcing the war in Sicily, shewed the intention was very different, and of a sudden ordered all their forces to abandon that island, with whom many Messineses returned, fearing the vengeance of the Spaniards, to whom they were now exposed: and this was the only important service done that Crown by all his Majesty's intentions or preparations to assist them; for no man doubted that the abandoning of Sicily was wholly owing to the apprehensions in France of a war with England, which they thought would give them but too much occasion for employing of their forces. And indeed the eyes and hopes of all the confederates were now turned so wholly upon England for any resource in their affairs, after Holland had deserted them (as they thought) by such precipitate terms of a peace, that many of the chief Ministers at Nimeguen left that place, as of no more use to the treaty it was designed for, and went into England, where they thought the whole scene of that affair then lay; among whom was Count Antoine the Danish am-

bassador, and soon after Monsieur Olivecrans the Swedish, with the Elector of Brandenburg's Envoy, and several others.

However, the negotiation continued there, between the French Ambassadors and Monsieur Van Beverning, till he was sent to the French camp; where he concluded the terms of the peace towards the end of June, and a cessation from all hostilities in Flanders for six weeks, which was given to the Dutch, to endeavour the Spaniards entering into the peace upon the terms they had proposed for them. And, in the whole course of this negotiation, France seemed to have no regards, but for Holland; and for them so much, that the most Christian King assured the States, that though Spain should not agree, yet he had such a care of their satisfaction, that he would always provide such a barrier in Flanders should be left, as they thought necessary for their safety; and that after the peace should be made, and the ancient amity restored, he would be ready to enter into such engagements and measures with them, as should for ever secure their repose and their liberty.

This was by all interpreted an invidious word, put in on purpose to cajole the enemies of the Prince, who ever pretended the suspicions of his affecting more authority than they desired; and thereby kept up a popular party in the State, the chief of whom had been the chief promoters of the present peace. And indeed the Prince was not at all reserved in the endeavours of opposing it, but used all that was possible and agreeable to the forms of the State: yet all in vain, the humour having spread so far, at first in Holland, and from thence into the other provinces, that it was no longer to be opposed or diverted by the Prince.

In the mean time, England was grown pretty indifferent in the matter of the peace, and Spain

seemed well inclined to accept their part of it: but the Emperor, the King of Denmark, and Elector of Brandenburg, fell into the highest declarations and reproaches against the States, that could be well invented; ripping up all they had ventured and suffered in a war they had begun only for the preservation of Holland; how they were now abandoned by them, in pretending to conclude imperious and arbitrary terms of a peace upon them without their consent: that they were willing to treat with France, and make a peace upon any safe and reasonable conditions; but would never endure to have them imposed as from a conqueror; and would venture all, rather than accept them, especially those for the Duke of Lorrain, whose case was the worst treated, though the most favoured in appearance by all the confederates, and the least contested by France.

Notwithstanding all these storms from their allies, the Dutch were little moved, and held on their course, having small regard to the satisfaction of any, besides Spain, in what concerned the safety of Flanders; and the necessities of that Crown made them easy, though as little contented as the rest: so as the peace was upon the point of signing by French and Dutch Ambassadors, when an unexpected incident fell in, which had like to have overturned this whole fabric, and to have renewed the war with greater heats, and more equal forces, by engaging England to a share of it in favour of the confederates, which they had been long practising without success, and now without hopes.

In the conditions which Holland had made for the French restoring the six towns in Flanders to Spain, there was no particular mention made of the time of that restitution; the Dutch understanding, as well as the Spaniards, that it was to be upon the ratifications of the peace with Spain and Hol-

land, whether any of the other allies on each side were included or no. But when the Dutch treaty was near signing, the Marquis de Balbaces either found or made some occasion of enquiring more particularly of the French intentions upon this point. The French Ambassadors made no difficulty of declaring, that the King, their Master, being obliged to see an entire restitution made to the Swedes of all they had lost in the war, could not evacuate the towns in Flanders, till those to the Swedes were likewise restored; and that this detention of places was the only means to induce the Princes of the North to accept of the peace.

Monsieur Van Beverning gave account to his Masters of this new pretence, and the States ordered him to let the French Ambassadors know, he could not sign the peace without the restitution of the places in Flanders upon the ratification of the treaty. The French Ambassadors were firm on the other side, and said, their orders were positive to insist upon the restitution of Sweden. The States hereupon sent to Monsieur Van Lewen, to acquaint his Majesty with this unexpected incident, and to know his opinion and resolution upon a point of so great moment to the peace of Christendom on the one side, and to the safety of Flanders on the other. The King was difficult at first to believe it; but sending to the French Ambassador at London to know the truth of it, and finding him own his Master's intention not to evacuate the towns till the general peace was concluded, and Sweden satisfied, he was both surprised and angry at this proceeding of France; and next morning sent for me to the foreign committee, and there declared his resolution of sending me immediately into Holland, with commission to sign a treaty with the States, by which they should be obliged to carry

on the war, and his Majesty to enter into it, in case France should not consent, within a certain time limited, to evacuate the towns. The Duke fell into this counsel with great warmth, and said at the committee, That it was plain by this pace, that France was not sincere in the business of the peace; that they aimed at the universal monarchy; and that none but his Majesty could hinder them from it, in the posture that Christendom stood. All the Lords of the committee agreed, with so general a concurrence, that it was hard to imagine this should not prove a steady resolution, how little soever we had been given to any such. His Majesty took the pains to press Van Lewen to go over with me, to persuade the States of the sincerity and constancy of his resolution to pursue this measure with the utmost of his power, and took upon himself to excuse to the States, his Masters, the making this journey without their consent.

Upon this dispatch Mr. Godolphin, who had been so lately in Holland, told me, that, if I brought the States to the treaty his Majesty proposed upon this occasion, he would move the Parliament to have my statue set up; the success whereof may deserve a further remark in its due place.

Monsieur Van Lewen and I went over in July 1678, in two several yachts, but met soon at the Hague, where, upon my first conference with the commissioners of secret affairs, one of them made me the handsomest Dutch compliment I had met with, That they esteemed my coming into Holland like that of the swallow, which brought fair weather always with it.

The Prince received me with the greatest joy in the world; hoping by my errand, and the success of it, either to continue the war, or recover such conditions of peace for his allies, as had been wrest-

ed out of his hands by force of a faction begun at Amsterdam, and spread since into the rest of the provinces.

To make way for this negotiation, I concerted with Monsieur Van Lewen to dine at his country-house, with Monsieur Hoeft of Amsterdam, Van Tielt of Haerlem, Patz of Rotterdam, and two or three more of the chief burgomasters who had promoted the peace, or rather precipitated it, upon the French conditions. After dinner, we entered into long conferences, in which Monsieur Van Lewen assured them with great confidence of the King's sincerity in the resolutions he had taken, and seconded very effectually all I had to say upon that subject; which had the more credit from one who had gone as far as any of them in pursuit and acceptance of the peace.

The Prince was impatient to know what had passed in this meeting, which made me go to him that evening; and I told him, that I was very confident to have found, that Monsieur Patz was incurable, and not otherwise to be dealt with; but that all the rest were good and well-meaning persons to their country, abused first by jealousies of his Highness's match in England, by apprehensions of our Court being wholly in the measures of France, and by the plausible offers of France towards such a peace as they could desire for themselves: that they were something enlightened by the late refusal of delivering up the Spanish towns till the satisfaction of Sweden; and would, I doubted not, awaken their several towns, so as to make them receive favourably his Majesty's proposition upon this conjuncture. It happened accordingly; for Monsieur Hoeft proposing at Amsterdam to make a trial and judgment of the sincerity of France upon the whole proceeding of the peace, by their evacuating the Spanish towns, and

without it to continue the war, he carried his point there, in spite of Valkenier; and the same followed in all the rest of the towns; so that, when I fell into this negotiation, I concluded the treaty in six days; by which France was obliged to declare, within fourteen after the date thereof, that they would evacuate the Spanish towns; or, in case of their refusal, Holland was engaged to go on with the war, and England immediately to declare it against France, in conjunction with Holland and the rest of the confederates.

It is hardly to be imagined what a new life this gave to the authority and fortunes of the Prince of Orange, who was now owned by the States to have made a truer judgment than they had done of the measures they were to expect both from France and England; the last having proceeded so resolutely to the offers of entering into the war (which was never believed in Holland), and France, after raising so important a difficulty in the peace, having proceeded in the war so far as to block up Mons, one of the best frontiers remaining to Flanders; which was expected to fall into their hands before the term fixed for the conclusion or rupture of the peace should expire.

Preparations were made with the greatest vigour imaginable for his Highness's expedition to relieve Mons; and about ten thousand English, already arrived in Flanders, were ordered to march that way and join the Prince. He went into the field with a firm belief that the war would certainly go on, since France seemed too far engaged in honour to yield the evacuation of the towns; and though they should, yet Spain could not be ready to agree and sign the peace within the term limited: and he thought that he left the States resolved not to conclude otherwise than in conjunction with that Crown: and besides, he hoped to

engage the French army before the term for signing the peace should expire; and resolved to relieve Mons, or die in the attempt, whether the peace succeeded or no; so as the continuance of the war seemed inevitable. But no man, since Solomon, ever enough considered how subject all things are to time and chance, nor how poor diviners the wisest men are of future events, how plainly soever all things may seem laid towards the producing them; nor upon how small accidents the greatest counsels and revolutions turn; which was never more proved than by the course and event of this affair.

After the treaty concluded and signified to France, all the arts that could be were on that side employed to elude it, by drawing this matter into treaty, or into greater length, which had succeeded so well in England. They offered to treat upon it at St. Quintin, then at Ghent, where the King himself would meet such Ambassadors as the Dutch should send to either of these towns. But the States were firm not to recede from their late treaty concluded with his Majesty, and so continued till about five days before the term was to expire. Then arrived from England one De Cross, formerly a French monk, who some time since had left his frock for a petticoat, and insinuated himself so far in the Swedish Court, as to procure a commission (or credence at least) for a certain petty agency in England. At London he had devoted himself wholly to Monsieur Barillon the French Ambassador, though pretending to pursue the interests of Sweden. About a week after I had sent a secretary into England with the treaty signed, this man brought me a packet from Court, commanding me to go immediately away to Nimeguen, and there to endeavour all I could (and from his Majesty) to persuade the Swedish Ambas-

sadors to let the French there know, that they would, for the good of Christendom, consent, and even desire the King of France no longer to defer the evacuation of the towns, and consequently the peace, upon the sole regard and interest of the Crown of Sweden. I was likewise commanded to assure the said Ambassadors, that, after this peace, his Majesty would use all the most effectual endeavours he could for restitution of the towns and countries the Swedes had lost in the war.

It was not easy for any man to be more surprised than I was by this dispatch; but the Pensioner Fagel was stunned, who came and told me the whole contents of it, before I had mentioned it to any man; and that De Cross had gone about most industriously to the deputies of the several towns, and acquainted them with it; and that the terms of peace were absolutely consented and agreed between the two Kings; that he had brought me orders to go straight to Nimeguen; and that I should, at my arrival there, meet with letters from my Lord Sunderland, the King's Ambassador at Paris, with all the particulars concluded between them.

How this dispatch by De Cross was gained, or by whom, I will not pretend to determine: but, upon my next return for England, the Duke told me that he knew nothing of it till it was gone, having been a hunting that morning. My Lord Treasurer said all that could be to excuse himself of it; and I never talked of it to Secretary Williamson; but the King indeed told me pleasantly, That the rogue De Cross had outwitted them all. The account I met with at Court was, that these orders were agreed and dispatched one morning in an hour's time, and in the Duchess of Portsmouth's chamber, by the intervention and pursuit of Monsieur Barillon. However it was, and what endeavours soever were made immediately after, at

our Court, to retrieve this game, it never could be done; and this one incident changed the whole fate of Christendom; and with so little seeming ground for any such counsel, that before De Cross's arrival at the Hague, the Swedish Ambassadors at Nimeguen had made the very same declaration and instances to the French Ambassadors there, that I was posted away from the Hague upon the pretence of persuading them to resolve on.

When I arrived at Nimeguen, there remained but three days of the term fixed by the late treaty between his Majesty and the States at the Hague, either for the French assent to the evacuation of the towns, or for the carrying on of the war in conjunction of England with Holland, and consequently the rest of the confederates. I found all men there persuaded that the peace would not succeed; and indeed all appearances were against it. The French Ambassadors had given many reasons, in a formal sort of manifesto, to the Dutch, why the King their Master could not consent to it without the previous satisfaction of Sweden, whose interests he esteemed the same with his own; but yet declaring he was willing to receive any expedients the States should offer in this matter, either by their Ambassadors at Nimeguen, or such as they should send to his most Christian Majesty at St. Quintin or Ghent. The Dutch gave them an answer in writing, declaring it was a matter no longer entire, since, upon the difficulty raised about the evacuation of the towns, the States, their Masters, had been induced to sign a treaty with England, from which they could not recede, nor from the day therein fixed for determining the fate of either peace or war; and as there was no time, so there could be no use of any deputation to St. Quintin or Ghent, nor any other expedient, besides the assent of France to evacuate the towns.

After this, the French Ambassadors had declared to the Dutch, that they had found the King their Master was resolved, at the desire of the Swedes, to retard the peace no longer upon their consideration; and would consent to evacuate the towns, upon condition the States would send their deputies to treat upon the ways of securing the future satisfaction to Sweden, which was by both intended. But the Dutch Ambassadors continued peremptory, that there could be no deputation made by their Masters; and that if the term fixed by the late treaty with England should elapse, there was no remedy but the war must go on. To this the French Ambassadors replying, that their hands were bound up from proceeding further without such a deputation, the peace was thereupon esteemed desperate; and the more so, because at the same time the Duke of Luxemburg pressed Mons, and the Marshal de Schomberg seemed to threaten Cologne, demanding of them immediate satisfaction of the money that had been seized during the assembly there; and Brussels itself grew unquiet, upon their finding themselves almost surrounded by French troops; so as the confederate Ministers thought themselves secure of what they had so much and so long desired and aimed at, which was a long war in conjunction with England: for they neither believed France would yield a point they had so long and so publicly contested; nor (if they did) that the Dutch would suffer their Ambassadors to sign the peace without Spain; and the time was now too near expiring for agreeing the terms and draught of a treaty between the two Crowns, which had not yet been in any kind digested.

In the midst of these appearances and dispositions at Nimeguen, came the fatal day agreed by the late treaty at the Hague, for determining whether a sudden peace or a long war were to be

reckoned upon in Christendom; when, in the morning early, Monsieur Boreel, who had been sent from Amsterdam to the Dutch Ambassadors at Nimeguen, went to the French Ambassadors; and, after some conference with them, these three Ambassadors went immediately to those of Holland, and declared to them, they had received orders to consent to the evacuation of the towns, and thereupon to sign the peace, but that it must be done that very morning. Whether the Dutch were surprised or no, they seemed to be so; and, entering into debate upon several of the articles, as well as upon the interests of Spain, this conference lasted near five hours; but ended in agreement upon all the points, both of peace and commerce, between France and Holland, and orders for writing all fair with the greatest haste that was possible, so as the treaty might be signed that night.

About four in the afternoon the French Ambassadors, having demanded an hour of me and Sir Lionel, came to us at my house, gave us an account of their agreement with the Dutch Ambassadors upon all points in difference between them, and of the treaty's being so ordered, as that it should be signed that evening; and made us the offer that they would all come and sign it at my house, that so we might have the part in it that was due to the Mediators.

We answered them, that having been sent by his Majesty with instructions only to mediate a general peace, we could not by our orders assist at the signing of a particular one; and therefore desired them to excuse us from having any part in this conclusion between them and the Dutch, either by the signing it at our houses, or by using our names as Mediators in the treaty.

The Dutch Ambassadors came to us likewise with the same communication and offer, and re-

ceived the same answer; and I observed their conversation, upon this mighty and sudden turn, to be a good deal embarrassed, and something irresolute, and not very well agreed between the two Ambassadors themselves. Monsieur Van Beverning complained of the uncertainty of our conduct in England, and the incurable jealousies that De Cross's journey had raised in Holland: that since the King still desired the peace, his Masters had nothing to do but to conclude it; and that they, the Ambassadors, took themselves to be so instructed, as that they must sign the peace upon the offers made by the French to evacuate the towns. Monsieur Van Haren did not seem to me so clear in point of their orders; and I never could learn whether, upon De Cross's arrival and discourses at the Hague, the States deputies there had sent orders to their Ambassadors at Nimeguen to sign the peace (even without the Spaniards), in case of the French assenting to the evacuation of the towns before the day appointed for that purpose should expire; or whether only the town of Amsterdam had by Boreel sent that advice to Monsieur Van Beverning, with assurances to bear him out in what he did, where his orders might receive a doubtful sense or interpretation. However it were, Monsieur Van Beverning was bent upon giving this sudden end of the war, and such a quick dispatch to the draught of the treaty, that it was agreed in all articles, and written out fair, so as to be signed between eleven and twelve at night. And thus were eluded all the effects of the late treaty concluded at the Hague, and the hopes conceived by the confederates of the war's going on; which so provoked several of their Ministers, as to engage them in sharp and violent protestations against the Dutch Ambassadors, by which they hoped to deter them from signing the peace without new orders

from their Masters. But all was to no purpose; Van Beverning was unmoved, and the thing was done.

The day after the peace was signed, came an express to me from Court, with the ratifications of the late treaty between his Majesty and the States, and orders to me immediately to proceed to the exchange of them: which was such a counterpace to the dispatch I had received by De Cross, and to the consequences of it, which had ended in the conclusion of the peace, and thereby rendered the late treaty of no farther use, that the ratification seemed now as unnecessary, as it had been at first unresolved at our Court, and unexpected from us by the Dutch. However, I went away immediately upon this express; and, next day after my arrival at the Hague, made an exchange of the ratifications according to the orders I received.

I found the Pensioner and several other of the deputies very much unsatisfied with the peace, and more with the precipitation of Monsieur Van Beverning to sign it upon the sudden offer of the French Ambassadors to evacuate the towns, and before he had acquainted the States with it, and received new orders upon it. They said his instructions could not warrant him; they talked of calling him in question for it, and of disavowing what he had done, and thereupon of having recourse to the treaty with his Majesty (which they now saw ratified), and of continuing the war in conjunction with England; and the rather, because they saw France had no mind to venture it, but had chosen to stoop from those high flights they had so long made in all transactions with their neighbours, either of war or peace. But others of the deputies, especially those of Amsterdam, declared their satisfaction in this conclusion at Nimeguen, argued, that the weakness of their confede-

rates, especially Spain, and the unsteadiness or irresolution of England, had made the peace of absolute necessity to Holland; and excused any precipitation of their Ambassadors in signing that day, or without clear and positive orders, upon the emergency being so sudden and surprising, and the time so critical, that the delay of sending to the Hague must of necessity have engaged the States in their obligations of the late treaty with England, and thereby in a necessity of continuing the war.

The truth is, I never observed, either in what I had seen or read, any negotiation managed with greater address and skill, than this had been by the French in the whole course of the affair; especially since the Prince of Orange's match, which was thought to have given them so great a blow, and by force of conduct was turned so much to their advantage. It is certain and plain, they never intended to continue the war, if England should fall with such weight into the scale of the confederates, as the force of that kingdom and humour of the people would have given to such a conjunction; and consequently, that his Majesty might have prescribed what terms he pleased of the peace, during the whole course of his mediation: for besides the respect which the French have for our troops, both horse and foot, more than any others, especially since the services and advantages they received from them in all their actions against the Germans; besides the terror of a conjunction between our naval forces and the Dutch, and of descents upon their coasts, with the dangerous influences that might make upon the discontents of their people; they wisely foresaw another consequence of our falling into this confederacy, which must unavoidably have proved more mortal to them than all the rest, in two years time. For whereas the wealth of France, which makes their greatness,

arises from the infinite consumption made, by so many neighbouring countries, of so many and rich commodities as the native soil and climate, or ingenuity of the people produces in France; in case this war had gone on, with England engaged in it, all these veins of such infinite treasure had been stopped at once, or at least left open only to some parts of Italy, which neither takes off their wines, their salts, nor their modes in habit or equipage, that draw so vast expences upon all the provinces almost of Europe which lie northward of France, and drain such vast sums of money from all their neighbours, into that fruitful and noble kingdom, more favoured by nature, in my opinion, than any other in the world: but the loss of this advantage, upon the necessity, folly, or luxury of others, must, in two or three years time, reduce them to such weakness in those sinews of the war, by so general a poverty and misery among their people, that there would need no other effect of such a general confederacy, to consume the strength and force of that nation. This they very prudently foresaw, and never intended to venture; but, having reason to apprehend it from the Prince of Orange's match in England, they took it without resentment; nay, improved it rather into new kindness than quarrel, making use of the King's good nature to engage him in a prorogation of the Parliament immediately after; which made it appear, both at home and abroad, that they had still the ascendant upon our Court. They eluded the effects of the message sent them by Lord Duras with his Majesty's scheme of the peace, by drawing it out into expostulations of kindness, and so into treaty. During this amusement of our Court, they plied their business in Holland yet with greater art and industry, poisoned the people there with jealousies of the Prince's match in Eng-

land, and of designs from both upon their liberties by a long and unnecessary continuance of the war. They united the factions in Amsterdam upon the scent of a peace, and upon their own conditions, to avoid those that had been proposed by his Majesty. When they had gained their point with the several deputies in Holland, they acquainted the King with their being sure of the peace on that side; and, by his Ambassador at Paris, made offers of mighty sums, both to himself and his chief Minister, only for their consent to such a peace as Holland itself was content with. When the States had absolutely resolved on the peace, by the particular faction of Amsterdam, and general terror upon the French taking of Ghent and threatening Antwerp, they esteemed the humour in Holland so violent towards the peace, and so unsatisfied with the fluctuation of our counsels in England, that they thought they might be bold with them upon the interests of Spain, and so raised the pretence of not evacuating the towns before the satisfaction of Sweden. And though I know this was by the politicians esteemed a wrong pace of France; yet I did not think it so, but that all appearances were for their succeeding in it. Nor had they reason to believe either our Court or Holland would have resented it to that degree they did; or that they could have fallen into such close and sudden measures, and with such confidence, as they happened to do upon this occasion by the treaty of July at the Hague. When this was concluded, they made all the offers that could be at breaking the force of it; by drawing it into negotiation, and by condescensions to the States unusual with that Crown even to the greatest Kings. They poisoned it by the dispatch of De Cross, and by his instructions, as well as artifices and industry, to make the contents of it public at the Hague; which were pretended at Court to be sent over to

me with the greatest secrecy that could be. At the same time they made all the declarations of not receding from the difficulties they had raised, otherwise than by treaty; and thereby laid asleep all jealousies of the confederates, as well as endeavours to prevent a blow they did not believe could arrive, where the honour of France seemed so far engaged: and thus they continued till the very day limited for their final declaration. The secret was so well kept, that none had the least umbrage of it that very morning. When they declared it, they left not the Dutch Ambassadors time enough to send to their Masters; fearing, if they had, the States would have refused to sign without Spain, which could not be ready before the time must have elapsed for incurring the effects of the late treaty.

Thus the peace was gained with Holland. His Majesty was excluded from any fair pretence of entering into the war, after the vast expence of raising a great army, and transporting them into Flanders, and after a great expectation of his people raised, and, as they thought, deluded. Spain was necessitated to accept the terms that the Dutch had negotiated for them; and this left the peace of the empire wholly at the mercy and discretion of France, and the restitution of Lorrain (which all had consented in) wholly abandoned and unprovided. So that I must again conclude the conduct of France to have been admirable in the whole course of this affair, and the Italian proverb to continue true, *che gli pazzi Francesi sono morti* [the French fools are dead]. On the contrary, our counsels and conduct were like those of a floating island, driven one way or the other, according to the winds or tides. The King's disposition inclined him to preserve his measures with France, and consequently to promote a peace which might break the present confederacy: the humour of his people and Parliament

was violent towards engaging him in a war: the Ministers were wavering between the fears of making their court ill, or of drawing upon them the heats of a House of Commons, whom the King's expences made him always in need of. From these humours arose those uncertainties in our counsels, that no man, who was not behind the curtain, could tell what to make of, and which appeared to others much more mysterious than indeed they were; till a new and formidable engine, beginning to appear upon the stage, made the Court fall into an absolute resolution of entering into the war just when it was too late; and to post away the ratifications of the treaty of July, so as to arrive the day after the French and Dutch had signed the peace, and after the King had given the States occasion to believe he did not intend to ratify it, but that he had taken his measures with France; for so all men in Holland concluded from De Cross's journey, and the commands he brought me for mine to Nimeguen, at a time when my presence at the Hague was thought the most necessary, both to ratify the treaty, if it had been intended, and to keep the States firm to their resolutions upon it.

Thus ended in smoke this whole negotiation, which was near raising so great a fire. France, having made the peace with Holland, treated all the rest of it with ease and leisure, as playing a sure game. England, to avoid a cruel convulsion that threatened them at home, would fain have gone into the war, if Holland would have been prevailed with; but they could not trust us enough to lose the present interest of trade, for the uncertain events of a war wherein they thought their neighbours more concerned than themselves.

About two or three days after my return to the Hague, and exchanging the ratifications, came the news of the battle of Mons, between the Prince of

Orange and the French under the command of the Duke of Luxemburg, who had posted himself with the strength and flower of the French forces so as to prevent the Prince's design of relieving Mons. And I remember, the day the Dutch peace was signed at Nimeguen, I was saying to the Marshal d'Estrades, that, for aught I knew, we might have a peace signed, and a battle fought, both in one day. He replied, there was no fear of it; for the Duke of Luxemburg had writ him word, he was so posted, that if he had but ten thousand men, and the Prince forty, yet he was sure he would not be forced; whereas he took his army to be stronger than that of the Prince. I need not relate an action so well known in the world; and so shall only say, that in spite of many disadvantages from an army drawn so suddenly together, so hasty a march as that of the Dutch, and posts taken with so much skill, and fortified with so much industry by the French, as was believed, the Prince upon the fourteenth of August attacked them with a resolution and vigour that at first surprised them, and, after an obstinate and bloody fight, so disordered them, that though the night prevented the end of the action, yet it was generally concluded, that, if he had been at liberty next day to pursue it with seven or eight thousand English that were ready to join his army, he must in all appearance not only have relieved Mons, but made such an impression into France as had been often designed, but never attempted since the war began; and upon which a French officer present in it said, that he esteemed this the only heroic action that had been done in the whole course or progress of it.

But the morning after the battle the Prince received from the States advice of the peace having been signed at Nimeguen; and thereupon immediately sent a deputy with the news of it to Monsieur

de Luxemburg. After compliments passed on both sides, the Duke desired to see the Prince; which was agreed to, and they met in the field, at the head of their chief officers, where all passed with the civilities that became the occasion, and with great curiosity of the French, to see and crowd about a young Prince, who had made so much noise in the world, and had, the day before, given life and vigour to such a desperate action, as all men esteemed this battle of St. Dennis. Yet many reflections were made upon it by the Prince's friends, as well as his enemies: some said that he knew the peace was signed before the fight began, and that it was too great a venture both to himself and the States, and too great a sacrifice to his own honour, since it could be to no other advantage: others laid it to the Marquis de Grana, who, they said, had intercepted and concealed the States packet to the Prince, which came into the camp the day before the battle (but after it was resolved on), and that he had hopes by such a breach of the peace, even after it was signed, that the progress of it would have been defeated. Whether this were true or no, I could never certainly be informed; but so much is, that the Prince could not have ended the war with greater glory; nor with greater spite, to see such a mighty occasion wrested out of his hands by the sudden and unexpected signing of the peace, which he had assured himself the States would not have consented to without the Spaniards. Yet, upon the certain news of it, he drew back his army, returned to the Hague, and left the States to pursue their own paces in order to finishing the treaty between France and Spain, wherein the Dutch Ambassadors at Nimeguen employed themselves with great zeal and diligence, and no longer as parties or confederates, but as mediators; whilst Sir Lionel, who continued still there in that figure, de-

clined the function, as in a matter wherein he found our Court would not take any part, nor allow themselves to have had any in the peace between France and Holland.

Soon after the Prince's return, he went to Dieren to hunt in the Veluwe, like a person that had little else to do: and I having occasion to go at the same time to Amsterdam, he desired me to remember him kindly to Monsieur Hoeft, the chief burgomaster there, and tell him, that he desired him to be no longer in his interests than he should find his Highness in the true interests of the State. I did so; and Monsieur Hoeft very frankly and generously bid me tell the Prince, he would be just what his Highness desired, and be ever firm to his interests while he was in those of his country; but, if ever his Highness departed from them, he would be the first man to oppose him; till then, he would neither censure nor distrust his conduct; for he knew very well, without mutual trust between the Prince and the States, his country must be ruined. From this time to that of his death, Monsieur Hoeft continued in the same mind, and by his example that great and jealous town began to fall into much more confidence, not only of the Prince, but of his whole conduct in the administration of the affairs of this State.

For the time I staid at Amsterdam, I was every day in conversation with Monsieur Hoeft, who, besides much learning, worth, sincereness, and credit in his town, was a man of a pleasant natural humour; which makes, in my opinion, the most agreeable conversation of all other ingredients, and much more than any of those squeezed or forced strains of wit that are in some places so much in request; though, I think, commonly the men that affect them, are themselves much fonder of them than any of the company.

Dining one day at Monsieur Hoeft's, and having a great cold, I observed, every time I spit, a tight handsome wench (that stood in the room with a clean cloth in her hand) was presently down to wipe it up, and rub the board clean: somebody at table speaking of my cold, I said, the most trouble it gave me was to see the poor wench take so much pains about it: Monsieur Hoeft told me, it was well I escaped so; and that if his wife had been at home, though I were an Ambassador, she would have turned me out of doors for fouling her house: and, laughing at that humour, said, there were two rooms of his house that he never durst come into, and believed they were never open but twice a-year, to make them clean. I said, I found he was a good patriot; and not only in the interests of his country, but in the customs of his town, where that of the wife's governing was, I heard, a thing established. He replied, It was true; and that all a man could hope for there, was to have *une douce patronne* [an easy governess], and that his wife was so. Another of the magistrates at table, who was a graver man, said, Monsieur Hoeft was pleasant, but the thing was no more so in their town, than in any other place that he knew of. Hoeft replied very briskly, It was so, and could not be otherwise, for it had long been the custom; and whoever offered to break it would have banded against him, not only all the women in the town, but all those men too that were governed by their wives, which would make too great a party to be opposed. In the afternoon, upon a visit, and occasion of what had been said at Monsieur Hoeft's, many stories were told of the strange and curious cleanliness so general in that city; and some so extravagant that my sister took them for jest; when the Secretary of Amsterdam, that was of the company, desiring her to look out of the window, said, Why, Madam,

there is the house where one of our Magistrates going to visit the mistress of it, and knocking at the door, a strapping North-Holland lass came and opened it; he asked, whether her mistress was at home? she said, Yes; and with that he offered to go in: but the wench, marking his shoes were not very clean, took him by both arms, threw him upon her back, carried him cross two rooms, set him down at the bottom of the stairs, pulled off his shoes, put him on a pair of slippers that stood there; and all this without saying a word; but, when she had done, told him, he might go up to her mistress, who was in her chamber.

I was very glad to have a little diverted, with such pleasantries as these, the thoughts of that busy scene, in which I was so deeply engaged, that I will confess the very remembrance of it, and all the strange surprising turns of it, began to renew those cruel motions they had raised both in my head and heart, whilst I had so great and so sensible a part in them. But to return where I left the thread of these affairs.

After the peace of Holland and France, the Ministers of the confederates, especially those of Denmark and Brandenburg, employed their last efforts to prevent the Spaniards agreeing to their part of the peace, as accepted for them by the Dutch. They exclaimed at their breach of honour and interest: that what was left the Spaniards in Flanders, by those terms, was indefensible, and could serve but to exhaust their men and treasures to no purpose: that the design of France was only to break this present confederacy by these separate treaties, and so leave the Spaniards abandoned by their allies upon the next invasion; which they would have reason to expect, if Spain should use them with as little regard of their honour and treaties, as the Dutch Ambassadors seemed to design.

These themselves also met with some difficulties in their mediation, by a pretension raised in France upon the county of Beaumont and town of Bovignes, which they did not find to have been mentioned in what had passed between the French and Dutch, upon the score of Spain, before the peace was signed.

All these circumstances began to make it look uncertain what would at length be determined by the States, as to their ratifications, which were like to be delayed till Spain had concluded their treaty, though those of France had been dispatched so as to arrive at Nimeguen the twenty-second of this month; and Monsieur d'Avaux commanded from thence to the Hague, in quality of Ambassador-extraordinary to the States; and the French army had retired into France at the same time the Dutch returned from before Mons. So that all seemed, on the French side, resolved to pursue the peace; on the side of the Empire and Princes of the North, to carry on the war; on the Spaniards, very irresolute whether to accept the peace the Dutch had mediated for them, or no: and in Holland, it was doubtful whether to ratify that their Ambassadors had signed, and whether at least before the treaty of Spain should be agreed.

Whilst the minds of men were busied with different reasonings and presages, as well as wishes, upon this conjuncture; about the end of August Mr. Hide arrived at the Hague from England, without the least intimation given me of his journey, or his errand; so that I was surprised both to see him, and to hear the design of such a sudden dispatch.

The substance of it was, to acquaint the States how much the King had been surprised at the news of their Ambassadors having signed a particular treaty with France, even without the inclusion of

Spain, and without any guaranty given for the evacuation of the towns within the time requisite: to complain of this precipitation of the States; and at the same time of the new pretensions that France had advanced upon the county of Beaumont and the town of Bovignes, which had retarded the peace of Spain, and hindered it from being concluded at the same time with that of Holland; which his Majesty understood always to have been the intention of the States, as well as his own. That for these reasons he understood, and believed, that the late treaty of July, between his Majesty and the States, ought to take effect; the case being fallen out against which that was provided, and both parties being thereby obliged to enter jointly into the war against France: that, if the States would hereupon refuse to ratify the treaty their Ministers had signed at Nimeguen, his Majesty offered to declare war immediately against France, and carry it on in all points according to the articles and obligations of the said treaty with the States.

Though Mr. Hide did not know, or did not tell me, the true spring of this resolute pace that was made by our Court, so different from all the rest in the whole course of this affair, yet he assured me they were both in earnest, and very warm upon the scent, and desired nothing so much as to enter immediately and vigorously into the war, in case Holland would be persuaded to continue it; and that no time nor endeavours were to be neglected in pursuing the commission he brought over, which was given jointly to us both, and recommended to me particularly from Court, with all the instances and earnestness that could be. When I carried him that very evening to the Prince at Honslaerdyck, and he acquainted his Highness with the whole extent of his errand and instructions; the Prince received it very coldly, and only advised him

to give in a memorial to the States, and ask commissioners to treat, by whom he would find what the minds of the States were like to be upon this affair, and at which he would at present make no conjecture.

After a short audience, Mr. Hide went to the Princess, and left me alone with the Prince; who, as soon as he was gone, lifted up his hands two or three times, and said, 'Was ever any thing so hot, and so cold, as this Court of yours? Will the King, that is so often at sea, never learn a word that I shall never forget since my last passage, when, in a great storm, the captain was all night crying out to the man at the helm, Steady, steady, steady? If this dispatch had come twenty days ago, it had changed the face of affairs in Christendom; and the war might have been carried on, till France had yielded to the treaty of the Pyrenees, and left the world in quiet for the rest of our lives: as it comes now, it will have no effect at all. At least, this is my opinion, though I would not say so to Mr. Hide.'

After this, he asked me, what I could imagine was at the bottom of this new heat in our Court; and what could make it break out so *mal à propos* [unseasonably], after the dissatisfaction they had expressed upon the late treaty when it was first sent over, and the dispatch of De Cross, so contrary to the design of it. I told him very truly, that I was perfectly ignorant of the whole matter, and could give no guess at the motions of it: and so I continued till some months after, when I was advised, that the business of the plot, which has since made so much noise in the world, was just then breaking out; and that the Court, to avoid the consequences that might have upon the ill humour of the Parliament, which seemed to rise chiefly from the peace, his Majesty resolved to give them

the satisfaction they had so long desired, of entering into the war: which is all the account I can give of this counsel or resolution.

The event proved answerable to the judgment the Prince at first made of it; for though the States deputies drew the matter into several debates and conferences with us, which filled all parties concerned in the war with different apprehensions, and served to facilitate the treaty between France and Spain; yet the Pensioner told me from the first, this was all the use that could be made of it, and that the States were so unsatisfied with our whole conduct in the business of the peace, that though they would be glad to see us in the war, yet they were resolved to have no farther part in it, unless France should refuse what they had already promised to Spain. However, while this affair continued in agitation, during Mr. Hide's stay at the Hague, all appearances looked very different from the opinion of the Prince and Pensioner, who alone had so full a grasp of the business in Holland, as to make a true judgment what the general sentiments there would determine in. Many of the deputies were so ill satisfied with their Ambassadors having signed the peace, that they inclined to his Majesty's proposals, and framed several articles against Monsieur Van Beverning's proceedings; whereof some laid mistakes to his charge; others, the omission of matters absolutely necessary in the treaty; and others more directly, his having gone beyond his orders and instructions, particularly in having stipulated that the States should give their guaranty for the neutrality of Spain. And in this point, I doubt, he had nothing to shew from his Masters to cover him. The rest seemed rather to be raised invidiously at his conduct, in having suddenly concluded an affair, which they now saw might have had another issue if he had given it

more breath; though, at that time, many of his accusers expected as little from England as he did; and with reason alike, since none of them could imagine any thing of that new spring there, from which this violent motion had begun. Whatever Monsieur Van Beverning's orders or his proceedings had been, the heats were so high against him at the Hague, that many talked, not only of disavowing what he had done, but of forming a process against him upon it: and, though in a short stay he made there upon this occasion, he had the fortune or the justice to see his enemies grow calm towards him; yet he was not a little mortified with so ill payment of what he thought had been so good service to his country; and, after his return to Nimeguen, was observed to proceed in the negotiations there with more phlegm and caution than was natural to his temper; and less show of partiality to the peace, than he had made in the whole course of the treaty.

All the while these matters were in motion at the Hague, the King's forces were every day transporting into Flanders, as if the war were to be carried on with the greatest certainty and vigour; which gave opinion and heart to those in Holland that disliked the peace. It raised also so great confidence in the Spaniards, that they fell into all the measures they could with the confederate Ministers at Nimeguen, to form difficulties and delays in the treaty there, between that Crown and France; upon the security that Holland would not ratify theirs, till that of Spain were concluded; and that in the mean time they might be drawn into the war by the violent dispositions which now appeared in England, as well as in the confederates, to continue it. The Spanish Ambassadors laid hold of all occasions to except against the matter or style of those articles which Holland had mediated between

them and France: they found difficulties upon the condition wherein the several towns to be evacuated should be restored to them, as to the fortifications that had been made in them by the French, and as to the artillery and munitions that were in them at the time when the Dutch had agreed upon those conditions; they found matter of dispute upon the territories that belonged to the several towns, and especially upon the Châtelenie of Aeth, which France had dismembered since it was in their possession, and had joined above threescore villages to the Châtelenie of Tournay, which had belonged to Aeth, and were with that town transferred by the Spaniards to the French, upon the peace of Aix la Chapelle: but the French pretending now to restore it, only in the condition they had left it, and not what they had found it, the Spaniards made a mighty clamour both at London and the Hague upon this subject, and complained of this, among other smaller matters, as innovations endeavoured to be introduced by France, even beyond what they had themselves proposed to the Dutch, and agreed in April last, which had been laid and pursued as the very foundation of the peace.

In this uncertain state all matters continued at the Hague for about three weeks, the opinions of most men running generally against the peace; as well as the wagers at Amsterdam, by which people often imagine the pulse of the State is to be felt and judged, though indeed it be a sort of trade driven by men that have little dealing or success in any other, and is managed with more tricks than the rest seems to be in that scene; not only coining false news upon the place, but practising intelligence from remote parts to their purpose, concerting the same advices from different countries, and making great secret and mystery of reports that are raised on purpose to be public; and

yet by such devices as these, not only the wagers at Amsterdam are commonly turning, but the rising and falling of the very actions of the East-India Company are often and in a great measure influenced.

But France thought the conjuncture too important to let it hover long in such uncertainties; and therefore first dispatched a courier to their Ambassadors at Nimeguen, with leave to satisfy the States in those clauses of their treaty wherein they seemed to except justly against Monsieur Van Beverning's conduct, and thereby cover the credit of that Minister who had been so affectionate an instrument in the progress of the treaty. Next, they gave them liberty to soften a little of the rigour they had hitherto exercised in the smallest points contested with the Spaniards; and last of all, they dispatched an express to their Ambassadors, with power to remit all the differences which obstructed or retarded the conclusion of the treaty between that Crown and Spain, to the determination and arbitrage of the States themselves.

This was a pace of so much confidence towards the States, and appeared such a testimony of the most Christian King's sincerity in the late advances he had made towards a peace, that it had all the effect designed by it. The several towns and provinces proceeded with a general concurrence to the ratifications of the peace, that they might lie ready in their Ambassadors hands to be exchanged when that of Spain should be signed. Monsieur Van Beverning, now favoured with a fair gale from home, the humour of his country blowing the same way with his own dispositions, and seconded with the great facilities that were given by France, made such a quick dispatch of what remained in contest upon the treaty between France and Spain, that all was perfected and signed by the twentieth of Sep-

tember, and thereupon the Dutch ratifications were exchanged with the usual forms. In all this Sir Lionel Jenkins had no part, as in an affair disapproved by the King his Master. The Dutch Ambassadors played the part of formal mediators; had the treaty between the two Crowns signed at their house; and took great care, by the choice and disposition of the room where it was performed, to avoid all punctilios about place, that might arise between the several ambassadors. Mr. Hide had the mortification to return into England, with the entire disappointment of the design upon which he came, and believed the Court so passionately bent; I was left at the Hague without any thing more to do, than to perform the part of a common Ambassador; France was left in possession of the peace with Holland and Spain, and, by consequence, master of that of the Empire and the North, upon their own terms; and England was left to busy itself about a fire that was breaking out at home, with so much smoke, and so much noise, that, as it was hard to discover the beginning, so it was much harder to foresee the end of it.

After the peace of Spain signed, and of Holland ratified, though the Ambassadors of the Emperor at Nimeguen were sullen, and those of Denmark and Brandenburg enraged, yet, by the application of the Dutch Ambassadors, the conferences were set on foot between them and the French; and Sir Lionel received orders from Court to return to his function, though the remaining part he had in the affair was rather that of a messenger than a mediator. The Northern Princes continued their preparations and marches, as if they resolved to pursue the war; but at the same time gave jealousies to the Emperor of some private intelligences or negotiations of separate treaties set on foot between France and Denmark, and others between that

Crown and Brandenburg, by Monsieur Despense, an old servant of the Elector, but subject of France. On the other side, France made great preparations to attack the Empire, upon pretence of forcing them into the terms they had prescribed for the peace; and thereby gave so great terror to the Princes of the Rhine, that lay first exposed to the fury of their arms, that the Electors of Mentz and Triers, and Duke of Newburg, sent away in great haste to the States, demanding and desiring to be included by them in the peace they had made, by virtue of an article therein, which gave them liberty within six weeks to declare and include such as they should name for their allies. But this was opposed by France, and refused to any particular Prince of the Empire, and allowed only to the Emperor and Empire, if they should jointly desire to be declared and included in the peace as an ally of Holland. The Duke of Lorrain, about the same time, seeing the whole confederacy breaking into so many several pieces, and every one minding only how to shift the best they could for themselves, accepted his part of the peace as France had carved it out for him; and chose the alternative offered from that Crown by which Nancy was to remain to France. But the Emperor, though he professed all the inclination that could be to see the general peace restored, yet he pretended not to suffer the terms of it should, like laws, be imposed upon him. He consented to the re-establishment of the treaties of Westphalia, which seemed to be all that France insisted on; but could not agree to the passage demanded for their troops, whenever they found it necessary for the execution of the said treaties; and this was insisted on positively by the French. Nor could the Imperialists yield to the dependence pretended by France of the ten towns of Alsace upon that Crown; which the French de-

manded as so left, or at least intended, by the treaty of Munster, while the Emperor's Ambassadors denied either the fact or the intention of that treaty.

While these dispositions, and these difficulties, delayed the treaty of the Emperor, the ratifications of Spain were likewise deferred, by concert, as was supposed, between the two Houses of Austria; so as the term agreed for the exchange of them was quite elapsed, and twice renewed or prolonged by France, at the desire of the States. But, during this time, the French troops made incursions into the richest parts of Flanders, and which had been best covered in the time of the war; and there exacted so great contributions, and made such ravages where they were disputed, that the Spanish Netherlands were more ruined between the signing of the peace and the exchange of the ratifications, than they had been in so much time during the whole course of the war.

The outcries and calamities of their subjects in Flanders, at length moved the Spaniards out of their slow pace; but more, the embroilments of England upon the subject of the plot which took up the minds both of Court and Parliament, and left them little or no regard for the course of foreign affairs. This prospect made Holland the more eager upon urging the peace to a general issue; and France, making a wise use of so favourable a conjuncture, pressed the Empire, not only by the threats and preparations of a sudden invasion, but also by confining their offers of the peace to certain days, and raising much higher demands, if those should expire before the Emperor's acceptance.

All these circumstances, improved by the diligence and abilities of the Dutch Ambassadors at Nimeguen, at length determined the House of

Austria to run the ship ashore, whatever came on it, rather than keep out at sea in so cruel a storm as they saw falling upon them, and for which they found themselves so unprovided. The Spanish ratifications at length arrived: and after the winter far spent in fruitless contest by the Imperial Ambassadors, and more fruitless hopes from England by the Spaniards and other confederates, Sir Lionel Jenkins gave notice, both to the Court and to me, that he looked upon the treaty between the Emperor and France to be as good as concluded; and soon after I received his Majesty's commands to go immediately away from the Hague to Nimeguen, and there assist as a mediator at the signing of the peace, which then appeared to be general.

I never obeyed the King so unwillingly in my life, both upon account of an errand so unnecessary, and, at best, so merely formal (which I never had been used to in so long a course of employments); and likewise upon the inclemency of the season, which was never known so great in any man's memory as when I set out from the Hague. The snow was in many places where I passed near ten foot deep, and ways for my coach forced to be digged through it; several postboys died upon the road; and it was ridiculous to see people walk about with long icicles from their noses. I passed both the Rhine and the Waal, with both coaches and waggons upon the ice; and never in my life suffered so much from weather as in this journey, in spite of all provisions I could make against it. The best of it was, that, I knew all the way, it was neither at all material that the Mediators should sign this branch of the general peace, having signed none of the other; nor that two should sign it, when one alone had assisted in the course of this negotiation since it was renewed between the Empire and France. Besides, I was very confident it

would not at last be signed by either of us; for I could not believe, when it came to the point, the Emperor's Ambassadors should yield that of precedence to the Mediators, at the conclusion of the treaty, which they never consented to do in the whole course of it: so that I looked upon the favour of this journey, as afforded me from the particular good-will of some of my good friends in the foreign committee; taking a rise from some instances of Sir Lionel Jenkins, who was in one of his usual agonies, for fear of being left in the way of signing alone a treaty, which he neither was pleased with himself, nor believed many people in England like to be.

I arrived at Nimeguen the end of January 1678-9, and found all concluded, and ready to sign, as Sir Lionel believed; yet the Imperialists made a vigorous effort in two conferences, after my arrival, to gain some ease in the points of Lorrain, and the dependence of the ten towns in Alsace, wherein they thought themselves the most hardly used of any others, and in the first, their Master's honour and justice most concerned; so as Count Kinski made a mien of absolutely breaking, without some relief upon them. But the French Ambassadors knew too well the force of the conjuncture, and the necessity laid upon the Emperor by the Dutch and Spanish peace, to pass the same way, or leap out of the window; and they were too skilful not to make use of it, or to give any ground to all the instances or threats of the Imperialists. These, on the other side, durst not venture the expiration of the last day given them by France, nor the reserve made in that case of exacting new and harder terms. So as the peace was signed about three days after my arrival. The poor Duke of Lorrain thought himself pressed with such hardships upon both the alternatives, that he could not resolve to accept of

either; for, in that he had chosen, not only his duchy was dismembered of several great parts wholly cut off, but the rest left at the French discretion; who insisted upon great spaces of ground left them in propriety, quite cross his country, for the march of their armies, whenever they should pretend occasion: so this noble, but unfortunate Prince, was left wholly out of the treaty, and of his country, contrary to the direct and repeated engagements of the confederates, and the intentions of his Majesty, as he often declared in the whole course of the treaty.

When it was ready to sign, the French Ambassadors offered to yield the precedence in signing it to us as Mediators, which they had done very frankly in the whole course of this assembly; but the Imperialists, when it came to the point, downright refused it; and we, according to our primitive orders, refused to sign without it; and, by our offers, gained only the point of having that determined against us, which till this time had always remained in suspense.

Whilst I staid at Nimeguen, I had a sheet of paper sent me from an unknown hand, written in Latin, but in a style and character that discovered it to be by some German: the subject of it was a long comment upon a quatrain recited out of *Nostredamus*.

Né sous les ombres d'une journée nocturne
  Sera en los et bonté souverain,
Fera renaistre le sang de l'antique urne
  Et changera en or le siécle d'airain.

Under the shades of a nocturnal day being born,
  In glory and goodness sovereign shall shine,
Shall cause to spring again the blood o' the ancient urn,
  And, into gold, the brazen age refine.

The scope of the whole discourse was to prove the Prince of Orange's being by it designed for the

Crown of England, and how much glory and felicity should attend that age and reign. I could not but mention it, because I thought the interpretation ingeniously found out and applied, having otherwise very little regard for any such kind of predictions, that are so apt to amuse the world. And though the present state of the royal family leave not this without appearance of arriving at one time or other, yet it is at too great a distance for my eyes, which, by the course of nature, must be closed long before such an event is like to succeed. The author of this paper made the shades of a nocturnal day to signify the deep mourning of the Princess-royal's chamber, with the lamps hung about it, which, by the windows being kept shut, left no other light in it that morning the Prince was born (which was soon after his father's death). Restoring the blood of the antient urn, was that of Bourbon or of Charlemagne, from whom the Prince was said to descend. The rest was only panegyric upon his virtues, and the general praise should attend them, and the golden age he should restore.

The day after the treaty was signed I left Nimeguen, and returned to the Hague, after a cruel fatigue and expence; which was rendered the more agreeable, when, upon my going into England soon after, I found myself in above seven thousand pounds in arrear at the Treasury: and though, with much trouble and delay, and some worse circumstances (to engage men that were more dexterous than I in such pursuits), I recovered the rest of my debt; yet two-and-twenty hundred pounds, due to me for this last embassy, continues to this day a desperate debt, and mark upon me how unfit I am for a Court; and Mr. Godolphin, after having both said and writ to me that he would move to have my statue set up if I compassed that

treaty, has sat several years since in the Treasury, and seen me want the very money I laid out of my own purse in that service, and which I am like to leave a debt upon my estate and family.

I shall not trouble myself with observing the remaining paces of the general peace, by that of the North, which was left to be made at the mercy of France. And though Denmark and Brandenburg looked big, and spoke high for a time after the peace between the Empire and France, pretending they would defend what they had conquered from the Swedes in Germany; yet upon the march of the French troops into the Brandenburg country, both those Princes made what haste they could to finish their separate treaties with France; and, upon certain sums of money agreed on, delivered up all they had gained in this war to the Crown of Sweden. Thus Christendom was left for the present in a general peace, and France to pursue what they could gain upon their neighbours by their pretensions of dependencies, and by the *droit de bienseance* [the right of conveniency]; which they pursued with such imperious methods, both against the Empire and the Spaniards, as rendered their acquisitions after the peace greater, at least in consequence, than what they had gained by the war; since not only great tracts of country, upon the score of dependences, but Strasburg and Luxemburg fell as sacrifices to their ambition, without any neighbouring Prince or State concerning themselves in their relief. But these enterprises I leave to some others observations.

Very soon after my arrival at the Hague, the King sent me orders to provide for my return as soon as I could possibly be ready; and bid me acquaint the Prince and the States, that he had sent for me over to come into the place of First Secretary of State in Mr. Coventry's room. My Lord Trea-

surer writ to me to the same purpose, and with more esteem than I could pretend to deserve, telling me, among other things, they were fallen into a cruel disease, and had need of so able a physician. This put me in mind of a story of Dr. Prujean (the greatest of that profession in our time), and which I told my friends that were with me when these letters came. A certain lady came to the doctor in great trouble about her daughter. Why, what ails she? Alas! doctor, I cannot tell; but she has lost her humour, her looks, her stomach; her strength consumes every day, so as we fear she cannot live. Why do not you marry her? Alas! doctor, that we would fain do, and have offered her as good a match as she could ever expect, but she will not hear of marrying. Is there no other, do you think, that she would be content to marry? Ah! doctor, that is it that troubles us; for there is a young gentleman we doubt she loves, that her father and I can never consent to. Why look you, Madam, replies the doctor gravely (being among all his books in his closet), then the case is this, your daughter would marry one man, and you would have her marry another: in all my books I find no remedy for such a disease as this. I confess, I esteemed the case as desperate in a political as in a natural body, and as little to be attempted by a man, who neither ever had his own fortune at heart (which such conjunctures are only proper for), nor ever could resolve upon any pursuits of it, to go against either the true interest or the laws of his country; one of which is commonly endangered upon the fatal misfortune of such divisions in a kingdom: I chose therefore to make my excuses both to the King and to my Lord Treasurer, and desired leave to go to Florence, and discharge myself of a promise I had made some years past of a visit to the great Duke, the first time I had leisure

from my public employments. Instead of granting this suit, the King sent a yacht for me, towards the latter end of February 1678-9, with orders to come immediately away to enter upon the Secretary's office about the same time with my Lord Sunderland, who was brought into Sir Joseph Williamson's place. I obeyed his Majesty, and acquainted the Prince and States with my journey, and the design of it, according to his command; who made me compliments upon both, and would have had me believe, that the Secretary of State was to make amends for the loss of the Ambassador. But I told the Prince, that though I must go, yet, if I found the scene what it appeared to us at that distance, I would not charge myself with that employment upon any terms that could be offered me. We knew very well in Holland, that both Houses of Parliament believed the plot: that the clergy, the city, the country in general did so too, or at least pursued it as if they all believed it. We knew that the King and some of the Court believed nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that opinion: and the Prince told me, he had reason to be confident that the King was in his heart a Roman Catholic, though he durst not profess it. For my own part, I knew not what to believe on one side or the other; but thought it easy to presage, from such contrary winds and tides, such a storm must rise as would tear the ship in pieces, whatever hand were at the helm.

At my arrival in England, about the latter end of February, I found the King had dissolved a Parliament that had sat eighteen years, and given great testimonies of loyalty and compliance with his Majesty, till they broke first into heats upon the French alliances, and at last into flames upon the business of the plot: I found a new Parliament was called; and that, to make way for a calmer

session, the resolution had been taken at Court for the Duke's going over into Holland, who embarked the day after my arrival at London. The elections of the ensuing Parliament were so eagerly pursued, that all were in a manner engaged before I came over; and, by the dispositions that appeared in both electors and elected, it was easy to presage in what temper the Houses were like to meet: my Lord Shaftesbury, my Lord Essex, and my Lord Hallifax, had struck up with the Duke of Monmouth, resolving to make use of his credit with the King, and to support it by theirs in the Parliament: and though the first had been as deep as any in the counsels of the Cabal, while he was Chancellor, yet all three had now fallen in with the common humour against the Court and the Ministry, endeavouring to enflame the discontents against both; and agreed among themselves, that none of them would come into Court, unless they did it all together; which was observed like other common strains of Court friendships. Sir William Coventry had the most credit of any man in the House of Commons, and, I think, the most deservedly, not only for his great abilities, but for having been turned out of the Council and Treasury, to make way for my Lord Clifford's greatness and the designs of the Cabal. He had been ever since opposite to the French alliances, and bent upon engaging England in a war with that Crown, and assistance of the confederates; and was now extremely dissatisfied with the conclusion of the peace, and with the Ministry, that he thought either assisted, or at least might have prevented it; and in these dispositions he was like to be followed by the best and soberest part of the House of Commons. For my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain, I found them two most admirable emblems of the true and so much admired felicity of Mi-

nisters of State: the last, notwithstanding the greatest skill of Court, and the best turns of wit in particular conversation that I have known there, and the great figure he made in the first part of these Memoirs, was now grown out of all credit and confidence with the King, the Duke, and Prince of Orange; and thereby forced to support himself by intrigues with the persons most discontented against my Lord Treasurer's Ministry, whose greatness he so much envied, and who was yet at this time in much worse condition than himself, though not so sensible of it; for he had been very ill with the late Parliament upon account of a transaction with France, which, though he had not approved, yet he durst not defend himself from the imputation, for fear of exposing his Master; he was hated by the French Ambassador, for endeavouring (as he thought) to engage the King in a war with France; he was in danger of being pursued by his enemies next Parliament, for having (as they pretended) made the peace, and endeavoured to stifle the plot: and yet I found, within a fortnight after I arrived, that he sat very loose with the King his Master, who told me several reasons of that change; whereof one was, his having brought the business of the plot into the Parliament against his absolute command: and, to complete the happy and envied state of this Chief Minister, the Duchess of Portsmouth and Earl of Sunderland were joined with the Duke of Monmouth and Earl of Shaftesbury in the design of his ruin. What a game so embroiled, and played on all sides with so much heat and passion, was like to end in, no man could tell: but I, that never had any thing so much at heart as the union of my country, which I thought the only way to its greatness and felicity, was very unwilling to have any part in the divisions of it; the deplorable effects whereof I had been too much

acquainted with in the stories of Athens and Rome, as well as of England and France: and for this reason, though I was very much pressed to enter upon the Secretary's office immediately after my arrival, yet I delayed it, by representing to his Majesty how necessary it was for him to have one of the Secretaries in the House of Commons (where it had been usual to have them both), and that consequently it was very unfit for me to enter upon that office before I got into the House, which was attempted, and failed: but how long this excuse lasted, and how it was succeeded by many new and various accidents, and how I was prevailed with by the King to have the part I had afterwards in a new constitution of council; and how, after almost two years unsuccessful endeavours at some union, or at least some allay of the heats and distempers between the King and his Parliaments, I took the resolution of having no more to do with affairs of state, will be the subject of a third part of these Memoirs.

MEMOIRS,

THE THIRD PART.

FROM THE PEACE CONCLUDED 1679,

TO THE TIME OF THE

AUTHOR'S RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC BUSINESS.

Et ille quidem plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos recusavit. PLIN. Epist. Lib. ii. Epist. 1.

THE

PREFACE.

IT was perfectly in compliance to some persons, for whose opinion I have great deference, that I so long withheld the publication of the following papers. They seemed to think, that the freedom of passages in these Memoirs might give offence to several who were still alive; and whose part in those affairs, which are here related, could not be transmitted to posterity with any advantage to their reputation. But, whether this objection be in itself of much weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least it should have little with me, who am under no restraint in that particular; since I am not of an age to remember those transactions, nor had any acquaintance with those persons whose counsels or proceedings are condemned, and who are all of them now dead.

But, as this author is very free in exposing the weakness and corruptions of ill Ministers, so he is as ready to commend the abilities and virtue of others, as may be observed from several passages of these Memoirs; particularly, of the late Earl of Sunderland, with whom the author continued in the most intimate friendship to his death; and who was father of that most learned and excellent Lord, now Secretary of State; as likewise, of the present Earl of Rochester; and the Earl of Godolphin, now Lord Treasurer, represented by this impartial author as a person at that time deservedly intrusted with so great a part in the Prime Ministry; an

office he now executes again with such universal applause, so much to the Queen's honour and his own, and to the advantage of his country, as well as of the whole confederacy.

There are two objections I have sometimes heard to have been offered against those Memoirs that were printed in the Author's life-time, and which these now published may, perhaps, be equally liable to. First, as to the matter; that the author speaks too much of himself: next, as to the style; that he affects the use of French words, as well as some turns of expression peculiar to that language.

I believe, those who make the former criticism, do not well consider the nature of Memoirs. It is to the French (if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner of writing; and Sir William Temple is not only the first, but, I think, the only Englishman (at least of any consequence) who ever attempted it. The best French memoirs are writ by such persons as were the principal actors in those transactions they pretend to relate, whether of wars or negotiations. Those of Sir William Temple are of the same nature; and therefore, in my judgment, the publisher (who sent them into the world without the Author's privity), gave them a wrong title, when he called them Memoirs of what passed in Christendom, &c. whereas it should rather have been, Memoirs of the treaty at Nimeguen, which was plainly the sense of the Author, who in the Epistle tells his son, that, in compliance with his desire, he will leave him some Memoirs of what passed in his public employments abroad: and in the book itself, when he deduces an account of the state of war in Christendom, he says it is only to prepare the reader for a relation of that famous treaty; where he and Sir Lionel Jenkins were the only mediators that continued any considerable time; and as the Author was first in commission,

so in point of abilities or credit, either abroad or at home, there was no sort of comparison between the two persons. Those Memoirs therefore are properly a relation of a general treaty of peace, wherein the Author had the principal, as well as the most honourable part, in quality of mediator; so that the frequent mention of himself seems not only excusable but necessary. The same may be offered in defence of the following papers, because, during the greatest part of the period they treat of, the Author was in chief confidence with the King, his Master. To which it may be added, that, in the few preliminary lines at the head of the first page, the Author professes he writ those papers for the satisfaction of his friends hereafter, upon the grounds of his retirement, and his resolution never to meddle again with public affairs.

As to the objection against the style of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French words and turns of expression; it is to be considered, that, at the treaty of Nimeguen, all business, either by writing or discourse, passed in the French tongue; and the Author having lived so many years abroad in that and former embassies, where all business, as well as conversation, ran in that language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon public affairs without some tincture of it in his style; though in his other writings, there be little or nothing of it to be observed; and, as he has often assured me, it was a thing he never affected; so, upon the objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out some French words in these, and placed English in their stead, though perhaps not so significant.

There is one thing proper to inform the reader, why these Memoirs are called the Third Part, there having never been published but one part before, where, in the beginning, the Author mentions a

former part, and in the conclusion promises a third. The subject of the first part was chiefly the triple alliance, during the negotiation of which my Lord Arlington was Secretary of State and chief Minister: Sir William Temple often assured me, he had burnt those Memoirs; and for that reason was content his Letters, during his embassies at the Hague and Aix la Chapelle, should be printed after his death; in some manner to supply that loss.

What it was that moved Sir William Temple to burn those first Memoirs, may perhaps be conjectured from some passages in the second part, formerly printed: in one place the Author has these words, "My Lord Arlington, who made so great a figure in the former part of these Memoirs, was now grown out of all credit," &c. In other parts he tells us that Lord was of the Ministry which broke the triple league; advised the Dutch war and French alliance; and, in short, was at the bottom of all those ruinous measures which the Court of England was then taking; so that, as I have been told from a good hand, and as it seems very probable, he could not think that Lord a person fit to be celebrated for his part in forwarding that famous league while he was Secretary of State, who had made such counterpaces to destroy it. At the end I have subjoined an Appendix, containing, besides one or two other particulars, a Speech of Sir William Temple's in the House of Commons, and an Answer of the King's to an Address of that House, relating to the Bill of Exclusion, both which are mentioned in these Memoirs.

I have only farther to inform the reader, that although these papers were corrected by the Author, yet he had once intended to insert some additions in several places, as appeared by certain hints or memorandums in the margin; but whether they were omitted out of forgetfulness, neglect, or want

of health, I cannot determine: one passage relating to Sir William Jones he was pleased to tell me, and I have added it in the Appendix. The rest I know nothing of; but the thread of the story is entire without them.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

MEMOIRS,

THE THIRD PART.

[Written for the satisfaction of my Friends hereafter, upon the grounds of my retirement, and resolution never to meddle again with any public affairs, from this present February, 1680-1.]

UPON my return from Nimeguen to the Hague, after the Emperor's Ambassadors having signed the peace, the King signified his pleasure to me, by a letter from my Lord * Treasurer, that he would have me come over to enter into the Secretary's office in Mr. Coventry's room, according to the resolution he had taken the year before, when he sent for me over into England from Nimeguen to that purpose.

I sent my humble acknowledgments to the King, in my answer to the Lord Treasurer's letter; but withal my humble excuses for not putting his Majesty upon the use of an old beaten horse, in such hard service as I took that station then to be; and proposed my colleague, Sir Lionel Jenkins, for that purpose. And having long promised the great Duke, that I would make him a visit at Florence, if I lived; I turned my thoughts wholly to get leave for that journey, as soon as the congress at Nimeguen should wholly break up, as it was like to do some time that spring, 1678-9.

This gave some respite at Court to the resolutions of my return, and an overture for Sir Lionel

* Earl of Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds.

Jenkins's coming over in my room; so that I prepared for a short return to Nimeguen; when most unexpectedly came a yacht to Rotterdam, with letters from my Lord Treasurer, and from the Earl of Sunderland, who had newly succeeded Sir Joseph Williamson. And, in both those dispatches, there was a positive command from the King, for my immediate repair into England, in order to my entering upon the Secretary's office.

The King writ the same thing at the same time to the Prince, and gave him leave to acquaint the States with it, which he did, as a thing he thought they would be pleased with (as he was himself, and indeed all my friends): though while I was forced to stay at the Hague, about a fortnight before my embarking, they all found me in very different thoughts, both upon my discourses and my letters: insomuch that the Prince told me, he looked upon it as a piece of predestination, that I should be Secretary of State at last, in spite of all I had done so long to avoid it.

Upon my arrival in England, I met with the most surprising scene that ever was: the Long Parliament dissolved, and the resolution taken for the Duke's going into Holland, and that he was to part next day: so that I had only one occasion of speaking to him; when he told me with great freedom the paces that had been made towards that resolution, much against his own opinion, and bid me remember what he foretold me, that however this was thought likely to stop the violent humour then raised by the plot, yet I should see it would go on next to my Lord Treasurer's ruin, though he did not expect it.

When the Duke was gone, and the King had told me, with the greatest kindness that could be, of his resolution to have me Secretary; and that I had no reason to take it well, because he knew

not one man besides in England that was fit for it upon Mr. Coventry's removal: and on the other side, my friends had told me, they had the money ready for me to lay down, which was five thousand pounds; I began to consider the ground, and the journey, and my own strength to go through with it. I found nothing so necessary for his Majesty's affairs abroad, and those of Christendom, as great union at home; which might enable him to make such a figure as the preservation of his allies required; and indeed the general interest of Christendom; which seemed to depend wholly upon his Majesty's measures. On the other side, I never saw greater disturbance in men's minds at home, than had been raised by the plot, and the pursuit of it in the Parliament; and observed, that though it was generally believed by both Houses, by city and country, by clergy and laity; yet when I talked with some of my friends in private, who ought best to know the bottom of it, they only concluded that it was yet mysterious; that they could not say the King believed it; but, however, that the Parliament and nation were so generally and strongly possessed with it, that it must of necessity be pursued as if it were true, whether it was so or no: and that, without the King's uniting with his people upon this point, he would never grow either into ease at home, or consideration abroad.

Upon three days thought of this whole affair, I concluded it a scene unfit for such actors as I knew myself to be; and resolved to avoid the Secretary's place, or any other public employment at home, my character abroad still continuing. This I acquainted my nearest friends with; ordered the money to be returned, which had been provided by them; and fell into the consultations how I might get off this point, without any thing that might appear undutiful or ungrateful to his Majesty.

The elections were canvassing for a new Parliament, and I ordered my pretensions so as they came to fail. In the mean time I deferred my entering into the Secretary's place, till I might likewise enter into the House of Commons, which both his Majesty and Lord Treasurer were satisfied with, though not Lord Sunderland. But when that Parliament was chosen, and I not of the House, I represented to his Majesty how unfit it was to have a Parliament meet without his having one Secretary of the House of Commons, and how useful Mr. Coventry would be to him there; and so obtained a respite till I could be chosen of the House; which was endeavoured upon each doubtful election, especially that at Windsor, but however could not be carried.

The short Parliament met, with the disputes between the Court and the Commons about the Speaker, begun indeed upon a pique between the Treasurer and Mr. Seymour [afterwards Sir Edward Seymour], or rather between my Lady Danby and him. However it was, this soon ran the House into such violences against my Lord Treasurer, as ended in his ruin; first, by the King's sudden resolution to remove him, then by the Commons continuing their pursuits and impeachments; and last, by his Lordship's first concealing, and then producing, himself in the face of this storm, which ended in the Tower.

After these heats of the Commons, which increased into new measures and motions among them, as they were swayed by popular humours upon the plot, and many new plots laid by the ambitions of private persons, carried on under covert of the other; I never saw any man more sensible of the miserable condition of his affairs, than I found his Majesty upon many discourses with him, which my foreign employments and correspon-

dences made way for. But nothing he said to me moved me more, than when, upon the said prospect of them all, he told me, he had none left, with whom he could so much as speak of them in confidence, since my Lord Treasurer's being gone. And this gave, I suppose, his Majesty the occasion of entering into more confidence with me, than I could deserve or expect.

On the other side I found, that the counsel of my Lord Treasurer's removal had been carried on by the Duke of Monmouth, in conjunction with the Duchess of Portsmouth, and Lord Essex, who was then in the greatest confidence with the Duke of Monmouth, and by him and Lord Sunderland newly brought into the Treasury. I found my Lord Sunderland at least in compliance with this knot, and that all were resolved to bring my Lord Shaftesbury again into Court, who was in confidence with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Essex, and had a near relation to Lord Sunderland. I observed the great affection his Majesty had to the Duke of Monmouth, and saw plainly the use his Grace intended to make of it, in case he could introduce a Ministry at his own devotion, or in his interests: and this being a matter that might concern the very succession of the Crown, and not only an injury to the Duke, but through him to his children, and the Prince of Orange; I resolved first, if it were possible, to break the growth of that Ministry, though I saw no men whom I could design to fix in it, with any satisfaction or advantage to the King or his service.

On the other side, I observed the Parliament to grow every day more violent, upon the support they received from the humours raised by the plot, and the incentives given them by the ambitions of persons playing that game. I saw the probability of matters growing to such a pass, that his Majesty

might be forced to part with them; and yet I saw not authority enough left in the Crown, either to do that without the venture of great mischiefs, or to live without another Parliament till the present humours might cool. And both these considerations, meeting together, cast me upon the thoughts of the King's establishing a new council, of such a constitution, as might either gain credit enough with the present Parliament, by taking in so many persons of those who had most among them, and thereby give ease and quiet both to the King and his people; or if, on the other side, the humours should grow outrageous and beyond opposing, the King might yet, at the head of such a council, with more authority and less hazard of ill consequences, either prorogue or dissolve them, as any necessities of his own, or extravagancies of theirs should require.

For these ends it seemed necessary to take into the council some Lords and Commoners who were of most appearing credit and sway in both Houses, without being thought either principled or interested against the government; and mix them with others of his Majesty's more general choice, for making up one half of the council, whilst the other half, being fifteen, were ever to be the present chief officers of his Crown and Household, who being all of his Majesty's known trust, as well as choice, would be sure to keep the council steady to the true interest of his Majesty and the Crown.

But one chief regard, necessary to this constitution, was that of the personal riches of this new council; which, in revenues of land or offices, was found to amount to about three hundred thousand pounds a year; whereas those of a House of Commons are seldom found to have exceeded four hundred thousand pounds. And authority is observed much to follow land: and at the worst, such a council might, out of their own stock, and upon a

pinch, furnish the King so far as to relieve some great necessity of the Crown.

This whole matter was consulted and deduced upon paper, only between the King and me, and lasted in the debate and digestion about a month: but when the forms and persons were agreed, and his Majesty seemed much satisfied with the thing, and resolved to go on with it, I humbly desired him not to take a resolution of that importance, without first communicating it to three or four persons of those his Majesty could most rely upon in point of judgment, secrecy, and affection to his service. The King resolved I should go and communicate the whole scheme, with all the particulars of it, to my * Lord Chancellor, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Essex; but one after another; and with charge from him of the last secrecy; and should bring him word of their opinions upon it: and, if they concurred with his, should appoint them to attend his Majesty next morning; the Chancellor only entering into his lodgings by the common way, but the other two and I by the private one below.

When I acquainted them with it, they all received it with equal amazement and pleasure. My Lord Chancellor said, it looked like a thing from heaven, fallen into his Majesty's breast: Lord Essex, that it would leave the Parliament and nation in the same dispositions to the King which he found at his coming in: and Lord Sunderland approved it as much as any.

Next day we attended his Majesty, and had a very long audience; upon which no difficulty arose but two, that were wholly personal. I had proposed Lord Hallifax as one of the Lords, whom the King had indeed kicked at, in our first consulta-

* Finch.

tions, more than any of the rest: but upon several representations of his family, his abilities, his estate and credit, as well as talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he was spited at, I thought his Majesty had been contented with it: but, at this meeting, he raised new difficulties upon it, and appeared a great while invincible in them, though we all joined in the defence of it: and at last, I told the King, we would fall upon our knees to gain a point that we all thought necessary for his service: and then his Majesty consented.

The other was concerning Lord Shaftesbury, who had never been mentioned in our first debates; and the King either had not thought of him before upon this affair, or had not mentioned him to me, as knowing, upon all occasions of private discourse with his Majesty, what opinion I had of that Lord. But after my Lord Hallifax had passed, the King said there was another, who, if he were left out, might do as much mischief as any, and named Lord Shaftesbury; to which the other three agreed: and concluded further, that he would never be content with a counsellor's place among thirty; and therefore it was proposed to add one to the number, by making a president, which should be he. I disputed this point, from the first mention, to the last conclusion of it, foretelling he would destroy all the good that we expected from the whole constitution: and said all that I could with so much earnestness, that when, by his Majesty's agreeing with the other three, I saw it would be concluded, I walked away to the other end of the room, not knowing well whether I should have gone out or not, if the door had been open; but turning again, I desired his Majesty to remember, that I had no part in Lord Shaftesbury's coming into his council or his affairs; that his Majesty and the other three Lords had resolved it without me; and that I was still absolutely

against it. The King laughed, and turned my anger into a jest; and so went on with the rest of the constitution intended, till the whole was resolved and executed publicly in Easter 1679*.

The night before the thing was to be done, his Majesty thought fit to tell it the Duke of Monmouth; having kept it secret till then, further than to the four already named. But as soon as the Duke of Monmouth knew, though only in general, that the council should be changed, he told it so many, that it was the common talk next morning; which we interpreted either lightness or vanity, to have it thought, that he had part in an affair likely to pass so well. And indeed, when the thing was done in the forms that are known, it was received with general applause in the country, with bonfires in the city, and the same in Ireland: in Holland, the actions of the East-India Company rose upon it immediately, and very much; and the States designed one of their best and most considerable men, Monsieur Van Lewen, to come over Minister into England upon this occasion. France alone was unsatisfied with it, and Monsieur Barillon said it was making *des Etats* [States] and not *des conseils* [councils]; but the reasons were easy to see, and so not much considered.

The House of Commons received it with most coldness, where the contrary was most expected: and the pretending knowers among them, who were not of the council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new revelations, to doubt it might be a new Court-juggle, and to refer it to time to tell what it was in truth; in the mean while to suspend their judgments.

This was the first effect of my Lord Shaftesbury's good meaning to the King and his affairs, into which

* See the Appendix.

he was entered, but not with the personal or transcendent credit he aimed at with his Majesty, and which he thought those who had been authors of this new constitution had the greatest share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the Duke of Monmouth, and use all their endeavours to raise such discontents and heats in the Houses, upon the apprehensions of popery, and propositions to prevent it, that the King found himself soon upon as uneasy terms with this Session of Parliament, as he had been with the last; the humours being engaged by my Lord Shaftesbury's pretending among his patriots, that the Duke of Monmouth had so much credit with the King, that his Majesty desired but a good occasion of consenting to all the Parliament should insist on, which would be given him by their heat and obstinacy, in so popular a point as that against popery: and if that were once gained, the Duke of Monmouth and he should be able to steer all the rest, to the satisfaction of those who called themselves the good or the honest party.

Such a mischief could never have grown, if Lord Shaftesbury had not worked himself up into credit, both in Parliament and city, by the appearance of having it with the King, and in the council where he was president; and by the infusions given of his having or growing yet into greater by a more secret spring, which was the interest of the Duke of Monmouth, and the kindness of his Majesty increasing, as appeared since the Duke's absence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new constitution, Lord Shaftesbury had been left out, as a person marked by his Majesty, and never to enter more into his affairs or confidence; which the whole course of his life, from his very first entrance upon public stages, if examined never so strictly, would have given good

ground for. But this fate, as I could not prevent by all my endeavours, so I had foretold it his Majesty the year before: when, upon my coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent expressions that could be against him; I told his Majesty, that, with his good leave, I would hold any wager, I should yet see that Lord again in his business; and when the King asked me what made me think so, I said, because I knew he was restless while he was out, and would try every door to get in; had wit and industry to find out the ways; and, when money would work, had as much as any body to bestow, and skill enough to know where to place it.

This turn in the King's affairs, upon this new constitution, gave me so great a vexation, and so ill a prospect, that, having delayed the time prescribed for every man's receiving the sacrament according to law, after his entrance into public employment, till it was very near expired; I once resolved, by that omission, to make myself absolutely incapable of bearing any for the future; and was not persuaded to lay aside that thought till after long debates upon it with my wife and sister here at Sheen: but that matter passed in form, and I continued barely of the council, with a resolution of not entering upon the Secretary's office, though often and earnestly urged to it by Lord Sunderland, with others of my friends.

Upon the new constitution of the council, my Lord Sunderland had, by Mr. Sidney, desired that we two might join together in perfect confidence, and distinct from any others in the course of the King's affairs, whether I would enter into the other Secretary's office, or no; which I said I was very willing to embrace, though I knew no need of it, considering how much the general affairs were devolved upon the council, or the particular commit-

tees, and how much I thought it was fit that they should continue so, without running into any private channels. This confidence had not run on above a fortnight, when my Lord Sunderland asked me, if I were willing my Lord Essex should be received into it; which I consented to, though with intimation to Lord Sunderland of the opinion I had (for some time of late) of Lord Essex, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met, for a while, once a day by turns, at each of our houses, and consulted upon the chief affairs that were then on the anvil, and how they might be best prepared for the Parliament or the Council: but matters growing very untoward, by the practices of Lord Shaftesbury, with the Duke of Monmouth's cover at least, and upon the ill humour of the House of Commons about the business of religion; and my Lord Hallifax appearing unsatisfied, by observing where the King's confidence was; I proposed to my Lords Sunderland and Essex, to receive him into all our consultations; which I thought would both enter him into credit with the King, and give us more ease in the course of his affairs. Lord Essex received this overture with his usual dryness; Lord Sunderland opposed it a good deal, and told me, I should not find Lord Hallifax the person I took him for, but one that could draw with nobody, and still climbing up to the top himself. However, I continued resolute in pressing it; and so at length the thing was concluded, and we fell all four together into the usual meetings and consultations.

The chief matters that lay before the King at that time were, first, the satisfaction of his people by falling into some measures with the Parliament that might enable him to look abroad in such a figure as became the Crown of England, and was necessary for preventing the common fears of a new invasion

of France upon Flanders or Holland, which looked very desperate without some strong and resolute protection from England.

The second was a resolution to be taken in answer to the instances made by Monsieur Van Lewen from the States, about a new guaranty to be given upon the late general peace by his Majesty, particularly to Spain in the business of Flanders.

The third was the giving some ease to Scotland, where the humours began to swell about this time; and which we conceived could be no way done so easily, as by removal of the Duke of Lauderdale; a man too much hated both here and there, to be fit for the temper his Majesty seemed resolved to use in his affairs.

For this last, we could not upon any terms obtain it of the King, by all the arguments used (both jointly and severally) by us all four; the King's defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew Scotland so well as his Majesty himself.

For the second, we easily agreed upon the measures that seemed necessary for the satisfaction of the States, and the safety of Flanders; being all four of the committee, where all the foreign affairs were consulted; and taking the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury into the first digestion of this treaty with Holland, at a meeting for that purpose, at my Lord Hallifax's house; which was the only time I ever had any thing to do, or so much as talk, with my Lord Shaftesbury, further than the council chamber.

For the first thing, which was the most important, we found it more perplexed than we could imagine. Both Houses of Parliament seemed to have no eyes, but for the dangers of popery upon the Duke's succession to the Crown; which humour was blown up by all the arts and intrigues of

the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury. The King seemed willing to secure them all that could be against those fears, without changing the laws in point of succession. * The House of Commons were busy in finding out expedients to secure this point, but could agree on none; being still diverted from fixing on any by Lord Saftesbury's practices. The council fell upon the same scent with great earnestness and endeavour; and, after much hammering, agreed upon many heads to be offered the Parliament, which are commonly enough known.

These expedients were agreed to by all the council, except my Lord Shaftesbury and me; who were against them, upon very different grounds. Mine were two; first, because I believed, that nothing that came first from the King upon these points would be accepted by the Commons; who, if they would be satisfied at all, I thought should first agree upon what, and leave it to the King to take or refuse. The second was, that as I did not see any certain ease these expedients would give the King, though agreed to by the Houses; so it was evident to all men, that they would leave the Crown after him in shackles, which, put on upon the Duke's occasion, and in his time, would not be easily knocked off by any successor. My Lord Shaftesbury's ground was plain, and so expressed by him upon all occasions; which was, that there could be no security against the Duke, if once in possession of the Crown; and this being well infused by his and the Duke of Monmouth's friends into the House of Commons, occasioned their sullen rejecting all the expedients offered them by the King, and laid the foundation for the proceedings of the late

* See the Appendix.

House of Commons, and the strange disorders wherein they have left affairs at home, and thereby the desperate condition of affairs abroad.

During all these transactions the three Lords and I continued our constant meetings and consultations; and with so much union, and so disinterested endeavours for the general good of his Majesty's service and the kingdom's, that I could not but say to them, at the end of one of our meetings, that we four were either the four honestest men in England, or the greatest knaves; for we made one another at least believe, that we were the honestest men in the world.

But this conjunction held not long: for, after the Houses rejecting the expedients offered by the King and Council, my Lord Shaftesbury finding himself neither in confidence with the King, nor credit in the Council, turned all his practices and hopes to the House of Commons, and inflamed them to that degree, as made the three Lords of my commerce begin to grow uneasy, and to cast about which way they might lay this storm. At length my Lord Sunderland told me that Lord Essex and Lord Hallifax were of opinion, that it was necessary to take in the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury into the first digestion of affairs, considering the influence they had upon the House; and for this end to agree with them in the banishment of the Duke, either for a certain term, or during the King's life; and desired to know whether I would fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord Sunderland positively I would not: for, first, I would never have any thing to do with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury; and next, I would never enter into matters of difference between the King and his brother; having upon several occasions told them both, that I would ever do all I

could towards the union of the whole royal family; but never would have any thing to do in the divisions of it; and no man should ever reproach me with breaking my word, and much less the King or the Duke.

This was peremptory, and so it ended; and thereupon the three Lords fell into meetings and consultations with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury, which I knew nothing of, and began to come less to council, and to meet no more with my usual company, but upon occasion, and without the first confidence; but we still continued our kindness wherever we met, without my enquiring, or they communicating, what passed in their new consultations.

But this lasted not long neither; for, within a fortnight or little more, they began to find the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the House of Commons to endeavour bringing the King into necessities of yielding all points to them, and thereby leaving the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury absolutely at the head of all affairs; so that the three Lords began to make their complaints of it, and to fall upon the thoughts of proroguing the Parliament, as the only remedy left in the present distemper. I agreed with them in this overture, and the rather, because I foresaw it would absolutely break the three Lords from all commerce with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury: and so we agreed to propose it to his Majesty, and that it should be debated and resolved at council; where the chief officers depending upon the King being one half of the council, and joining with others of us that were of his more indifferent choice, we concluded the resolution could not fail to be taken by the majority of the council; if the reasons and necessity of it should not pre-

vail with some of those who seemed most in my Lord Shaftesbury's confidence, to leave him upon this occasion. And in this resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again two days after for the fixing it with his Majesty, upon my engaging to go for so long down into the country, where I staid my two days, and came up the third morning early.

Upon my arrival, I found my Lord Sunderland had called or sent several times to my house the night before, and left word that he must needs speak with me as soon as I came to town. I sent immediately to Whitehall, but found his Lordship was gone already with the King to the House of Lords; whereupon I went to Lord Essex, who was nearest me, and asked whether any thing new had happened. He told me that the King had found out there were remonstrances ready prepared in the House of Commons, to inflame the city and nation upon the points of plot and popery; and that their three Lordships having upon it consulted with his Majesty, he had resolved the Parliament should be prorogued that morning, upon the King's coming to the House, and that it could not be allowed time or vent by a debate of council; which, for my part, I thought an ill omission, and that it ought to have the authority of the King with advice of his council, according to the usual forms: but it passed otherwise, and with very great resentment of both Houses; and such rage of my Lord Shaftesbury, that he said upon it aloud in the House, that he would have the heads of those who were the advisers of this prorogation.

During this session of Parliament, I had several notices given me of a practice set on foot in the House of Commons for impeaching me as one that had been an instrument of making the general peace; and this was urged by stories, of being a man of arbitrary principles, and one that had writ-

ten several things, though without name, against the constitution of Parliaments, and in favour of popery: and this went so far, that * Mr. Mountague went a great way from man to man in the House, to know whether, if such an accusation were brought in, they would be against me. Several went into it upon hatred to the late Treasurer, whose friend they took me to be, and upon envy at my being designed for Secretary of State; but yet in no such numbers that Mr. Mountague could hope to make any thing of it: and when some of my friends acquainted me with it, I only desired them to obtain leave of the House, that I might hear my accusation at the bar of the House, and assured them that I should be glad to have that occasion of telling there both Mr. Mountague's story and my own. This fell; but upon the knowledge of these practices, my Lord Sunderland and Mr. † Sydney, who thought that a man, who had such a part in the King's affairs, ought to stand as well as he could with the House of Commons, pressed me to suffer several small things I had formerly written, and of which copies had run, to be then printed, as they were, under the title of *Miscellanea*. They thought, by that publication, men would see I was not a man of the dangerous principles pretended; and I might assure the world of being author of no books that had not my name. The thing seemed to pass well enough; only Lord Hallifax, commending them to me in general, told me as a friend, that I should take heed of carrying too far that principle of paternal dominion (which was deduced in the essay *Of Government*), for fear of destroying the rights of the people. So tender was every body of those points at that time.

* Afterwards Duke of Mountague.

† Afterwards Earl of Rumney.

The three Lords and I went on unanimous in our consultations; considering how to make way for a calmer and better-tempered session of Parliament, after the short prorogation which had been made. To which purpose we again endeavoured the removal of the Duke of Lauderdale, or at least the admission of other Nobles of Scotland into those affairs. We concluded the measures with Holland in all points, to the satisfaction of their Ambassador; and thought of such acts of council, as might express his Majesty's care for suppressing popery even in the intervals of Parliament. We only disagreed in one point, which was the leaving some priests to the law upon the accusation of being priests only, as the House of Commons had desired; which I thought wholly unjust, without giving them public warning by proclamation to be gone, or expect the penalties of law within such a time; since the connivances had lasted now through three Kings reigns: upon this point Lord Hallifax and I had so sharp a debate at Lord Sunderland's lodgings, that he told me, if I would not concur in points which were so necessary for the people's satisfaction, he would tell every body I was a papist: and upon his affirming that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it were so or no, in those points that were so generally believed by city or country as well as both Houses; I replied, with some heat, that the plot was a matter long on foot before I came over into England; that to understand it, one must have been here to observe all the motions of it; which not having done, I would have nothing to do with it: in other things I was content to join with them, where they thought I could be of use to the King's service; and where they thought there was none, I was very willing to be excused; and very glad

to leave his Majesty's affairs in so good hands as theirs.

Notwithstanding some such differences between me and the three Lords, yet we continued our consultations and confidence; and two of them, Lord Sunderland and Hallifax, pressed me extremely about this time to come into the Secretary's place. Lord Hallifax particularly offering to bring it to a point with his uncle Coventry upon the money that was to be paid; pretending to be very desirous to see me posted there; and professing to grow weary of the business, since he could find no temper like to grow in the next session of Parliament between the King and them. For since the last prorogation, Lord Shaftesbury had been busy in preparing fuel for next session, not without perpetual appearance of ill humour at council, which broke into spiteful repartees often betwixt him and Lord Hallifax. And on the other side, the Duke of Monmouth had broken all measures with Lord Essex, with whom he had been long in the last confidence: so as this grew to a spited quarrel between these four; and though commonly smothered when they met, yet not without smoke appearing where they were observed.

In this condition of affairs the rebellion in Scotland broke out; upon which it was pleasant to observe the counterpaces that were made. The King was for suppressing it immediately, by forces from hence to be dispatched and joined with those in Scotland, and the Duke of Monmouth to go and command them all. Lord Shaftesbury shewed plainly at council, and in other places, that he was unwilling this rising should be wholly or too soon suppressed, or otherwise than by his friends in Scotland, who might be thereby introduced into the direction of affairs there, with the removal of

the Duke of Lauderdale: yet, on the other side, he was willing to see the Duke of Monmouth grow great by such a command of the King's forces, both English and Scots; and agreed with that Duke, to put the King upon another project at the same time, and to the same end, which was (upon the Duke of Monmouth's carrying so many of the forces here into Scotland) to raise a troop of two hundred gentlemen for the guard and safety of the King's person, whereof the Duke of Monmouth to be captain; and which was to be composed chiefly of officers who were out of employment, and whose merits were best known to the Duke of Monmouth.

On the other side, Lord Essex, though he agreed with the King's opinion, to have the Scots insurrection suppressed; yet he had a mind it should be done by the Scots, to prevent the Duke of Monmouth's growing greater than he yet was by that command; especially if it should be followed with success. And though he would not oppose his Majesty in his resolution of sending the Duke of Monmouth upon this expedition; yet he did very openly the other design, which the King himself seemed much bent upon, as well as the Duke of Monmouth, to raise the troop of two hundred gentlemen. The other two Lords and I fell in with him in this last; though Lord Essex was most instrumental in breaking it, by raising invincible difficulties in the Treasury, where he was at the head; so as, upon composition, money was found for the Duke of Monmouth's marching into Scotland, and with great ease to him in his personal pretensions; and the new troop was let fall upon want of money.

The Duke of Monmouth went into Scotland; succeeded; took the body of rebels; suppressed absolutely the rebellion; ordered the punishment

of some; gave pardon to the rest; returned in triumph; was received with great applauses and court from all; with great appearance of kindness and credit by the King, who was now removed to Windsor, and the Council to Hampton-Court, where the Duke of Monmouth was received.

The term of the prorogation of Parliament drew near expiring, and all agreed that a session could not conveniently begin before October: and a day was appointed for considering that matter at council. The Duke of Monmouth was greater than ever: Lord Shaftesbury reckoned upon being so too, upon the next meeting of Parliament, and at the cost of those whom he took to be the authors of the last prorogation: Lord Essex and Hallifax looked upon themselves as most in his danger, and aimed at by Lord Shaftesbury's threats, and out of all measures with the Duke of Monmouth. This induced a consultation among us, whether, considering the distempers of the present Parliament, the best course were not to dissolve it, and have another called in October; wherein the three Lords and I agreed; and the King was perfectly of the same mind, considering with what distempers that Parliament both began and continued. So it was resolved, that the King should propose, at next council, whether it were best to prorogue that Parliament, or dissolve it, and at the same time call another; and that, in the mean time, the Lord Chancellor, and the other chief officers depending upon the King, should be acquainted with his mind, either by his Majesty or the three Lords. For, since the King's going to Windsor, I continued at Sheen, and only went to Hampton-Court on council-days; though the three Lords came often to me, and pressed me as often to come as they did to Court; and Lord Hallifax protested he would burn my house, and that if I would not enter upon the

Secretary's office, his uncle Coventry would look out for some other chapman; for as soon as he had found one, he was resolved to part with it. I told him I was very willing, and would speak to the King, that his market should not be spoiled upon any occasion. Whether his Lordship believed me or no, I did so, and desired his Majesty to think of some other for that place; for my ill health increasing with my age, made me find myself unable to go through with the toils of that office, if executed in the forms and with the attendance it required. The King told me, he could not consent to it; that if he should, he knew not a man in England fit for it besides me, so that I had no reason to take it kindly of him. I desired his Majesty to give me leave, and I would propose three persons, of which I would undertake every one should be fitter than I. The King would not so much as hear me name them; but told me, it was a point he had been so long fixed in, that he could not change his resolution.

In our last meeting we had calculated how many at council could, in any probability, oppose the dissolving of the present Parliament, and calling another; and we had concluded, there could not be above six in the whole council that could be against it at the most; which we thought would be a great support to the King's resolution, against all the exclamations we expected from Lord Shaftesbury and his friends; and at least, that it would be safe against the consequences which were usually deduced from the forms of calling Parliaments always by advice of the council, that the dissolving of them ought to be so too, at least when it was not at their own desire.

The council-day came; and when I came thither, and found the King and three Lords, with some others already there, I asked Lord Sunder-

land and Hallifax, whether all was prepared, and Lord Chancellor and other chief officers had been spoke to? They said, No; it had been forgotten or neglected; but the King would do it to each of them apart as they came that morning, and before the council began. I thought it hard, a point of that importance should be neglected so long; but was fain to content myself with what they told me would be done. The outward room, where the King was, filled apace; every one made his leg to his Majesty, and filled the circle about him as they came in: I was talking apart, in a corner of the room, till it grew late, and Lord Chancellor told the King that it was so, and I saw the King turn from the Chancellor, and go into the council-chamber: all followed; the council sat; the King proposed his thoughts, whether it were best for his affairs to prorogue this Parliament till October, or to dissolve it, and call another at that time; and desired their Lordships opinions upon it.

I observed a general surprise at the board; which made me begin to doubt, the King had spoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor before he came in: but it soon appeared he had not so much as done that neither: for, after a long pause, he was the first that rose up, and spoke long and violently against the dissolution; and was followed by Lord Shaftesbury in the amplest manner, and most tragical terms; Lord Anglesey followed them, by urging all the fatal consequences that could be: the same style was pursued by Lord * Chamberlain, and agreed to by the Marquis of Worcester; and pursued from the top to the very bottom of the table by every man there, and at a very full council; except the three Lords who spoke for the dissolution, but neither with half the length or force of argu-

* Earl of Arlington.

ment they intended to have done; leaving that part, as I supposed, to me, who was, I confess, well enough instructed in the case, to have said more upon that argument: but I was spited from the first that I heard of my Lord Chancellor's speech, and still more and more as every man spoke, at the consequences happened by such a negligence of my friends, who had been perpetually about the King, and might so easily have effected what was agreed on, and thought so necessary. I was the last but one to speak, and saw argument would signify nothing, after such inequality was declared in number; and so contented myself to say in short, that I thought it was every man's opinion, that a happy agreement between his Majesty and Parliament was of necessity to his affairs both at home and abroad: that all the difference, in a continuance of this, or assembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the likelihood of agreeing better and easier with one than with the other: that his Majesty had spoken so much of his despairing about any agreement with this present Parliament, and the hopes he had of doing it with another, that, for my part, I thought that ought to decide it; because I thought his Majesty could better judge of that point than any body else. So his Majesty ordered the Chancellor to draw up a proclamation for dissolving that Parliament, and calling another to assemble in October following: and thereupon the council broke up, with the greatest rage in the world of the Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Russel, and two or three more, and the general dissatisfaction of the whole board.

After the council ended, every man's head began to fill with the thoughts of the new elections, and several spoke to the King upon that subject. I had resolved to stand for the university of Cam-

bridge; and the Duke of Monmouth being Chancellor, I desired the King to speak to him, to write to some of his friends in my favour: he excused himself, first, upon engagements; but the King pressed him upon mine, as a thing of importance; and that he could not be otherwise engaged before he knew of the Parliament's being dissolved. I said a good deal too upon it: but do what the King could, by all he was pleased to say, the Duke of Monmouth would not be brought further, than to say, he would not meddle in it one way or the other; which gave me the first plain and open testimony of his dispositions towards me, having ever received before all outward civilities, though without my visits or attendances. Yet, I think, his Grace kept his word with me in this point better than I expected: for my election in the University proceeded with the most general concurrence that could be there, and without any difficulties I could observe from that side; those which were raised coming from the Bishop of Ely; who owned the opposing me from the chapter *Of Religion*, in my *Observations on the Netherlands*, which gave him an opinion, that mine was for such a toleration of religion, as is there described to be in Holland.

The council, after this day, was put off till the King's return to London, according to the use of that season; and every one began to canvas for elections in the ensuing Parliament, upon which all his Majesty's affairs seemed to depend. The King, in the mean time, resolved to do all that could help to make fair weather there. I told my friends, I would take care of my election, and go down about it; but, for the rest, would pass my time at home the remainder of the summer, and recommended the common cares to the three Lords; whose attendance, I knew, would not fail at Court, two of

them from their offices, and the * third from his humour; which he owned always must have business to employ it, or would else be uneasy.

The summer was declining, but the Duke of Monmouth in his greatest height, when the King fell sick at Windsor, and with three such fits of a fever as gave much apprehension, and that a general amazement; people looking upon any thing, at this time, that should happen ill to the King as an end of the world. I went to Windsor, after the second fit; and, having seen his Majesty, observed more strength and fewer ill symptoms than had been reported; nor could I think him in danger, without accidents, which was to be the care of his physicians, who were some of them wholly of my mind. I found and left the three Lords very diligent at Court, in attending both his person and affairs, which I was very glad of; and so came home without entering further into any discourses with them, than of his Majesty's sickness; which was then the general discourse and care.

About three or four days having received assurance of the King's certain recovery, by being free of any return of his fever fits, I went up to London to solicit a great arrear of my embassies due from the Treasury. The Commissioners were met that morning at my Lord Essex's house, whither I went straight; but, by the way, heard that the Duke was that night passed through London, and rode post to Windsor; which I doubted not his Highness had been induced to by the reports of the King's danger, upon the news of his sickness; and made no further reflection upon it, than that of the great surprise, and *martel en tête* [uneasiness] that would be given Lord Essex and Hallifax by this sudden arrival of the Duke, to whose interests they had run

* The Marquis of Hallifax.

so counter, and with such heights, for several years. But upon their late separating all measures from the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shafteshury, I thought I had field enough left for doing them good offices to the Duke, when I should see him, which I resolved the next day.

When I came to Lord Essex's house, and asked for the commissioners, I found they were sat some time, but that Lord Essex had newly left them together, and was gone up into his chamber, whither I was immediately sent for; his servants went out and left him booted, and ready to get up on horseback. As soon as we were alone, he asked me, whether I had not met with strange news, and what I thought of it? I said, it did not seem very strange that the Duke should come, if he thought the King in danger. Lord Essex replied, yet it was strange he should come without leave from the King; and that, now his Majesty was well, sure he would not think of staying three days: that he was going as fast as he could to Windsor, to see what all this business was; and asked me if I would not go; which I excused for that day, but promised the next. In this little discourse, I observed all along a sneering smile, which I knew not what to make of; I thought, if it were a countenance, it was better put on than was usual with his Lordship; and that he should be pleased with it at heart, I could not well imagine, knowing how things had passed between the Duke and him.

Next day I went to Windsor; and the first man I met was Lord Hallifax coming down from Court on foot, and with a face of trouble; and as soon as he saw me, with hands lifted up two or three times; upon which I stopt, and alighting, asked what was the matter; he told me, I knew all as well as he; that the Duke was come; that every body was amazed; but where we were, or what would be

next, nobody knew: he bid me go on to Court before the King went out; said he was going to his lodging, to sit and think over this new world; but desired we might meet, and my Lord Sunderland, after dinner.

I went to the King; and after him to the Duke, who received me with great kindness, and presently carried me into a little inner room, and asked me smiling and very familiarly, whether I did not wonder to see him here: I told him, not at all, if he had thought the King in danger; for in that case his Highness had nothing else to do: and that I believed, upon the first news of his Majesty's illness, he would come as near as he could, either to Newport or Calais, and there expect the next news; but that his Majesty's sickness having passed so soon, I confessed I had not thought of his coming over. We talked of the King's recovery, what stay his Highness would make, which he said should be as the King pleased, for he would obey him in every thing.

I gave the Duke a short account of affairs here, as they had passed since the constitution of the council; of the mischiefs had been occasioned by the Lord Shaftesbury's having been brought in so much against my will; of his measures with the Duke of Monmouth; of the three Lords having absolutely broken from him; of the credit they were grown into with the King; and of my confidence, they would never fall into any measures against his Highness: upon which chapter I said a great deal that I thought necessary to make Lord Essex and Hallifax's court, which I was very glad to see so well received by the Duke: for, as to Lord Sunderland, I had little reason to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the Court in the whole course of his life. For myself, I only said at last, that, because I did not know what our present dis-

tempers might end in if the next Parliament should prove of the same humour with the two last, nor what measures his Highness would fall into about staying or going away again; I would only say, that, let whatever would befal the King's affairs or his Highness's, he might always reckon upon me as a legal man, and one that would always follow the Crown as became me; nor could any thing make the least scruple in this resolution, unless things should ever grow so desperate, as to bring in foreigners, which (if ever it should be) would be a new case, and that I knew not what to think of. Upon this the Duke laid his hand upon mine, and bid me keep there, and said, that he would ask no more of me or any man: and so I parted, after a long and very gracious audience, and came home that night, having missed my Lord Hallifax and Essex in the afternoon at Lord Sunderland's, where we had appointed to meet, and I came, but they failed; and Lord Sunderland and I talked deep into nothing, reserving ourselves, as I thought, till the others came.

I stayed at home, making the reflections I could not avoid upon the carriage of my friends; till within a few days I heard the news of the Duke of Monmouth's disgrace; which, though it came by some degrees, yet they were so sudden one after another, as to make it appear a lost game in the King's favour and resolutions. Though nothing could seem more reasonable than that which it ended in, that, while the Duke was abroad, the Duke of Monmouth should be so too; having made his pretensions so evident, and pursued them so much to the prejudice of the King's affairs; however, I could not but wonder, how the Duke had been able in so few days, or rather hours, to get so great a victory. I went within a day or two to London, found my Lord Hallifax in physic, but saw

plainly his distemper was not what he called it; his head looked very full, but very unquiet; and when we were left alone, all our talk was by snatches; sickness, ill humour, hate of town and business, ridiculousness of human life; and whenever I turned any thing to the present affairs after our usual manner, nothing but action of hands or eyes, wonder, and signs of trouble, and then silence.

I came home, and satisfied enough upon what terms I was with my friends, though I knew not whence it came, or whither it went. But I soon found out the whole secret; which was, that, upon the King's first illness, the Lords Essex and Hallifax, being about him, thought his danger great, and their own so too; and that, if any thing happened to the King's life, the Duke of Monmouth would be at the head of the nation, in opposition to the Duke, upon pretence of popery, and in conjunction with Lord Shaftesbury, who had threatened to have their heads upon prorogation of the last Parliament; which threat was applied by Lords Essex and Hallifax to themselves; reckoning Lord Sunderland out of danger by his relation to Lord Shaftesbury, and the fair terms that had always made between them. This fright had so affected these Lords, that, not staying to see what the King's second fit would be, they proposed to the King the sending immediately for the Duke; which being resolved, and the dispatch made with all the secrecy and speed imaginable, the Duke came over; but finding the King recovered, it was agreed to pass for a journey wholly of his own, and that it should be received by his Majesty and the three Lords with all signs of surprise. When this was done, they found the Duke of Monmouth so enraged at this counsel, as well as Lord Shaftesbury, that they saw no way but to ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the King's affairs, and joining themselves

wholly with the Duke's interest; which they did for that time, till they had brought about all his Highness desired for his security against the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury; the first going over into Holland, and the other being turned out of the council.

For my own part, though I was glad of any mortification that happened to the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury, whose designs had run the kingdom into such incurable divisions and distractions, at a time that our union was so necessary to the affairs of Christendom abroad; yet I was spited to the heart at the carriage of my friends towards me in this affair; and not so much for their taking such a resolution without my knowledge and concert (which they never had done since our first commerce), as for keeping me ignorant after the Duke's coming over; and so far, as to let me make such a figure as I did, in doing all the good offices, and making all the court I could to the Duke, for Lords Essex and Hallifax, as I told them I would do; while they were both in the depth and secret of his interests and counsels; and I, who had reason to think myself well with his Highness, was left wholly out of all confidence both with him and with them. But I had reason to resent it yet further, when I found that some of them, perceiving the Duke much unsatisfied with the constitution of the new council, had, to make their own court, laid the whole load of it upon me; whereas, if my Lord Chancellor, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Essex had not fallen into it with the greatest applauses and endeavours in the world to finish the draught of it, the thing had certainly died; and for my own part, after I could not hinder my Lord Shaftesbury's being brought in, I would have been very well content it should.

I could not but tell my Lord Sunderland of these

resentments; and that I found myself so unfit for Courts, that I was resolved to pass the rest of my life in my own domestique, without troubling myself further about any public affairs, than not to appear sullen in not coming sometimes to general councils; and that Lord Essex and Hallifax's carriage to me had been such, after having been the two men of England I had it in my power and my fortunes most to oblige, that I would never have any thing more to do with them. This I said only to one person more; and how it came to be known by their two Lordships, I cannot tell; but there all commerce between us ended, further than what was common when we met at council, or in third places; though Lord Hallifax came to an *eclaircissement* with me the spring after, which ended very well, and I did him the service I could upon occasion in the late House, as well as in council, upon their heats against him.

I passed the rest of the summer at home, and left the three Lords in the chief ministry and sole confidence, as outwardly appeared, both with the King and Duke: and Lord Essex told my brother Sir John Temple, who was then here, that he had more credit with the King than all the rest of the Ministers, or any man in England: but the refined courtiers, who observe countenances and motions, had no opinion of it: and, soon after, Lord Essex and Hallifax, upon the private examination of an intrigue I could never make any thing of, nor thought worth my enquiry, which was commonly called the Meal-tub Plot, took such a distaste at finding themselves mentioned in it, and yet left out of the secret examinations about it, that the Duke was no sooner gone, but their discontents grew open against the Court; my Lord Essex left the Treasury; Lord Hallifax, in discourse to me, commended him for it, and told me his resolution to go

down into the country; and though he could not plant melons as I did, being in the North, yet he would plant carrots and cucumbers, rather than trouble himself any more about public affairs; and accordingly he went down to Rufford. To their nearer friends I heard they complained, that they found they had no sound part in the King's confidence or the Duke's; that they were but other mens dupes, and did other mens work; and that, finding no measures would be taken for satisfying and uniting the kingdom, they would have no more part in public affairs.

Upon Lord Essex's leaving the Treasury, Mr. * Hyde came of course to be First Commissioner; and he and Mr. † Godolphin were brought into the council; where I met them the next time I came, and welcomed them, as two persons that had always been my friends, and agreed with me in all my opinions and measures about affairs abroad, wherein only we had been conversant in our commerce, either at Nimeguen, the Hague, or at home. These two joined in confidence with Lord Sunderland; and the other two Lords being in discontent or absent, and I keeping at home both upon my resolution and inclination, these three were esteemed to be alone in the secret and management of the King's affairs, and looked upon as the Ministry.

October came on, wherein the Parliament was to meet. The Duke was in Flanders: the Duke of Monmouth in Holland: Lord Shaftesbury endeavoured to inflame the reckoning of the late conduct and counsels against the sitting of the Parliament, and to set afoot petitions in case they did not sit: the Ministers were not able to stand

* Afterwards Earl of Rochester.

† Afterwards Earl of Godolphin.

the opening of the Parliament; and so a short prorogation was expected some days before that appointed for their assembly. I had not been at Court or Council in a month or six weeks; when, being recovered of a fit of the gout, I came to town, and went to Lord Sunderland, talked to him of my several arrears in the Treasury, desired his help, which he promised with great kindness, and went with me to the King, where we proposed and agreed the way of my satisfaction. The King seemed very kind to me, but neither one or the other of them said a word to me of any public business. From the King's chamber we went to the council, where I expected nothing but such common things as I knew had passed for a good while before; and so all passed, till I thought the council was ending, when the King after a little pause told us, that upon many considerations, which he could not at present acquaint us with, he found it necessary to make a longer prorogation than he had intended of the Parliament: that he had considered all the consequences, so far as to be absolutely resolved, and not to hear any thing that should be said against it: that he would have it prorogued till that time twelvemonth; and charged my Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly.

All at council were stunned at this surprising resolution, and the way of proposing it, except those few that were in the secret; and they thought fit to be silent, and leave the thing wholly upon his Majesty: several others rose up, and would have entered into the reasonings and consequences of it, but the King would not hear them, and so all debate ended. After which I rose, and told the King, that as to the resolution he had taken, I would say nothing, because he was resolved to hear no reasoning upon it; therefore I would only presume to offer him my humble advice as to the

course of his future proceedings; which was, that his Majesty in his affairs would please to make use of some council or other, and allow freedom to their debates and advices; after hearing which, his Majesty might yet resolve as he pleased: that if he did not think the persons or number of this present council suited with his affairs, it was in his power to dissolve them, and constitute another of twenty, of ten, or of five, or any number he pleased, and to alter them again when he would; but to make counsellors that should not counsel, I doubted whether it were in his Majesty's power or no, because it implied a contradiction; and, so far as I had observed either of former ages or the present, I questioned whether it was a thing had been practised in England by his Majesty's predecessors, or were so now by any of the present Princes of Christendom: and therefore I humbly advised him to constitute some such council as he would think fit to make use of in the digestion of his great and public affairs.

His Majesty heard me very graciously, and seemed not at all displeased with any thing I had said; nor any other person of the Lords of the Council, but most very much to approve it: yet, after the council was up, my Lord Sunderland came to me, told me, he was never so surprised as at what I had said, and expected it sooner from any man in England than me: that whatever resolutions had been taken about my business in the Treasury, he was sure nothing should be done. I replied, that, if he liked not what I said, he should have prevented it, by telling me, before I came to council, what was intended to be done; which if I had known, I would not have been there, no more than I had been so long before: and that, if my debt would not be paid, I must live the best I could without it.

Not long before, the Prince of Orange writ me word, how much he found the Duke unsatisfied with me, upon the belief that it was I had given the Prince those impressions and sentiments which he had upon the common affairs of Christendom; whereas, he could say on the contrary, that it was he had given me mine, and should never change his own till he were convinced *d'avoir tort* [of being in the wrong]: however, that he thought fit, out of friendship to me, to give me this advice.

I was now in a posture to be admirably pleased with having no part in public affairs: the Duke unsatisfied with me of late; the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury from the very first; Lord Essex and Hallifax out of all commerce with me upon what had passed; great civility from the other Ministers, but no communication; and the King himself, though very gracious, yet very reserved. Upon all this, and the melancholy prospect of our distractions at home, and thereupon the disasters threatening abroad: but chiefly upon my own native humour, born for a private life, and particular conversation or general leisure; I resolved to give over all part in public affairs, and came no more either to Court or Council in a month's time, which I spent chiefly in the country.

In this time the Lord Russel, Lord * Cavendish, Sir H. Capel, and Mr. Powle, distasted at the late prorogation, as well as at the manner of it, and pretending to despair of being able to serve the King any longer, in a conduct of affairs so disagreeable to the general humour of the people, went to the King together, and desired his Majesty to excuse their attendance any more upon him at council, which the King very easily consented to. Lord Salisbury, Lord Essex, and Lord Hallifax seemed

* Afterwards Duke of Devonshire.

to have taken the same resolution, though not in so much form. Upon which I thought it might be a great prejudice to his Majesty's affairs, to be left by so many at once: and that, if I wholly gave over at the same time, it would look like entering into a faction with persons who were only displeased with the present scene upon hopes of entering soon upon another, which was no part of my thoughts or designs. Therefore I resolved to go again to council, to shew I had not herded with those that had left it; and that my leaving it too might not occasion some mens greater distastes at the government.

In the intermission I had made, my wife, continuing her commerce with my Lady Sunderland, had met my Lord there; who, taking no notice of what had passed between us, asked her how I had proceeded in my business of the Treasury, and whether I needed his help, which he offered with great friendliness if I had occasion. When I came up to town, and went the first time to council; after it was done, I went to Lord Sunderland, told him what regards towards his Majesty had made me come up, and gave him thanks for his offers to my wife: I found him returned to his first temper towards me; entered into common affairs, but always with professions of my resolutions to retire, and my thoughts of a journey into Italy, which I had long promised the Great Duke. I lived on with my Lord Sunderland in all kindness, though not confidence, which was now wholly between him, and Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Godolphin. I made use of his offers, and by his help came to an issue in the most difficult point of my business in the Treasury.

The second time I was at council, after my return from Sheen, my Lord Sunderland told me he was to say something to me from the King, and desired we might meet after council was up. I went

to his lodgings, where he told me that Mr. Secretary Coventry being absolutely resolved to part with his place, and the King, having found I had long declined it, had now thoughts of consenting to Sir Lionel Jenkins's coming into it upon a bargain with the Secretary; but that the King would do nothing in it without first letting me know his thoughts; and asked whether I had any thing to say upon it. I made no stop in the world, but told his Lordship that the King could do nothing for me that I would take kinder than this; that I had several times pressed his Majesty to a new choice, and once offered to name some to him that I knew were fit for it; that I had resolved against it so long, that his Majesty had no reason to remember any of his engagements to me, how voluntary soever; but, that he was pleased to do it, was the most obliging in the world; and I was resolved immediately to go and make him my acknowledgments. I did so; they were extremely well taken, the King used me with great kindness, and Sir Lionel Jenkins came into the office.

I passed the winter in town, though with much indisposition; going sometimes to the council, and sometimes to the foreign committee, but not frequently to either, and meddling very little with any thing that passed there; unless it was what concerned the affairs of Ireland, which happened to be then hot upon the anvil; the Duke of Ormond and council of that kingdom having transmitted several acts over to the council here, both of grace and supplies, in order to a Parliament to be held in Ireland. This brought Lord Essex again into play, after so much discontent and so little attendance for several months at council: but his eye and heart had ever been bent upon his return to the government of Ireland; which made him

steer all by that compass, and pursue Court or popular humour, as he thought either likeliest to further that end. Whenever the Irish acts came into council, he was sure to be there; first raising twenty difficulties in the particular acts, and arraigning not only the prudence but common sense of the Lord-Lieutenant and council there: then arguing against the assembling a Parliament in that kingdom; and at last introducing Sir James Sheen to make proposals of increasing the King's revenue there near eighty thousand pounds a year, upon a new farm to himself and the company he offered to be joined with him: a farm indeed, as it was drawn up, not of the revenue, but of the crown of Ireland.

This scheme was ever supported by Lord Essex, and ever opposed by me with more sharpness than was usual to me upon any debates; because I had found out the cheat of the whole thing, which Lord Essex had set on foot as a great master-piece of that cunning, which his friends used to say was his talent, and was one for which of all other talents I had ever the greatest aversion. The short of this story was, Lord Essex had a mind to be Lieutenant of Ireland, and to hinder any Parliament being called till he came to the government. He saw himself out at Court; and the hopes of getting in by his interest in Parliament, now delayed by the prorogation longer than he could stay: he projects this farm with Sir James Sheen, and by him offers it to Mr. Hyde, with the advantages mentioned to the King's revenue; but agrees with Sir James, that, if the bait were swallowed, he should, upon the conclusion of all, declare that he and his company were ready to perform all the conditions agreed on; but could not do it unless my Lord Essex might be sent over Lieutenant of

Ireland; without which the condition of that kingdom could never be settled enough for such advantages to the King's service and revenue.

This I knew under secrecy from a confident of Sir James Sheen, who had told himself this whole project, and the paces intended.

Mr. Hyde, who was at the head of all matters concerning the King's revenue, had received this new proposal, and embraced it very warmly; whether prevailed upon by the specious show of so great increases in the revenue, or by some new measures growing between him and Lord Essex in other affairs, I never could determine; but such a patronage at council gave strength to the debates, being little opposed but by Sir Lionel Jenkins and me, who laid the matter so bare, that it drew out into length that whole spring; and the King joined wholly with me in the opinion of the thing, and so far, that when it was come to council or committee, his Majesty sent particularly to me to be there.

In the midst of these agitations, the Duke came over out of Flanders, and resolution was taken for his going into Scotland. I was extremely concerned for the Duke of Ormond, who had fallen into danger of the consequences threatened by these intrigues and pursuits, after the most sensible blow that could be given him, by the death of his * son; and was both of an age and merits to expect no more reverses of fortune, after so many as he had run through in the course of his loyalty. I saw Mr. Hyde violently bent upon Sir James Sheen's imaginary project, and, I doubted, with some pique to the Duke of Ormond, and partiality to Lord Essex. The King seemed to grow weary of so much pursuit; and Lord Sunderland was indiffer-

* The Earl of Ossory.

ent in the thing: so that I resolved to try if I could not engage the Duke to support the Duke of Ormond; and the second time I was with his Highness, after his coming to Court, I fell into this whole business and the consequences of it, and laid open the secret of the thing. The Duke seemed very favourable to Lord Essex, and more indifferent to the Duke of Ormond, than I expected; which made me fall very freely into the character of them both, which the Duke seemed at last to allow with the distinction they deserved, and professed to desire the Duke of Ormond should be continued; though, if he were removed at any time, he still seemed to think Lord Essex the fittest to succeed him. But I found, some days after, by Sir Lionel Jenkins, that his Highness had been very glad to find me so fixed in that business to the Duke of Ormond, and that he would give him what support he could.

Upon the motions of this affair, I grew into more attendance upon his Majesty, and more commerce both with Lord Sunderland and Mr. Hyde; with whom I always lived very well, though we differed so much in opinion upon this Irish business. But continuing still my resolutions of winding myself out of all public business; and to that end talking often to them of my design to make a journey to Florence, both upon occasion of my health and promise; they both proposed to me, if I had a mind to go into a hot country, to go into Spain, and do it with a character from the King, who was likely to have affairs there; rather than make a journey like young gentlemen, only to see the country. I told them how unwilling I was to charge myself again with the ceremonies and fatigue of an embassy; or to run again the hazard I had done so often already, of being undone by those employments: that, if I could resolve on it, I did not see

what affairs the King could have in Spain, whilst he had such as he seemed to have at present in England; nor could I see what use any leagues or measures abroad could be to him, unless some union at home would enable him to support them. This conversation, however, was often renewed between us; and at last, I found out, that to prepare for a good session of Parliament next winter, the Ministers were resolved upon all measures that might conduce towards it during the summer; and, as one of the chief, were resolved to send Ministers to Spain, Denmark, and other of the confederates, and enter with them into the strictest measures for the common defence against the power of France.

I found the Ministers were mighty earnest to engage me in this embassy, as believing my charging myself with it would give a general opinion, both at home and abroad, of our sincerity in the thing. The King spoke to me, and seemed very desirous of my undertaking it. I defended myself a good while, having indeed no opinion the thing had a good root, or that the appearance of it would have the effect hoped for, upon the next meeting of Parliament: but at last I brought it to this point, that I would not charge myself with going to make the intended alliance in Spain; but, if the King should think fit to conclude it here with the Spanish Ambassador upon terms of mutual satisfaction, I would be content to go and cultivate it in Spain. This was done by the Ministers; the King declared me his Ambassador-extraordinary at Madrid; I passed my privy-seal, received my equipage, and spent the latter end of the summer in the preparations for my journey, which were in a manner finished about the middle of September; when the King told me, that since the Parliament drew so near, and so much depended upon it of all that concerned him either abroad or at home, he was resolved to have

me stay at least the opening of it, by which we should judge of the further progress.

From what seeds the discontents and violent proceedings of this last session grew, I have told already; but by what motions and degrees they came to such a height is another story, and may have had some roots which I did not discover; but what I observed was this. After the Duke's return into Flanders, he had the King's leave to come over again in some months. The Duke of Monmouth came back out of Holland without leave, and so came not to Court; and thereby seemed to make himself the head of those that were discontented, either with the Duke's return, or the intermission of Parliament. In acting this part he was guided by Lord Shaftesbury, who resolved to blow up the fire as high as he could this summer; so as to make the necessity the greater of the Parliament sitting at the time appointed. And, because boldness looks like strength, to encourage his party with an opinion of both, he engaged several Lords, and among them Lord Russel, to go with him to Westminster-Hall publicly, and there, at the King's Bench, to present the Duke as a recusant. Though the matter had no consequences in the forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the minds of the people, and a strong one upon the passions of all those persons that were so publicly engaged in this bold pace against the Duke, which was breaking all measures with him, and entering into the desperate resolution of either ruining his Highness or themselves: and I found it had a great effect upon the small circle of my acquaintance or observation.

Lord Essex, who had pursued his return to the government of Ireland by engines at Court for six months past, began to let all that business of Sir James Sheen cool, and to reckon upon laying a

surer foundation for that design, from the credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this he began to fall into new commerce with Lord Shaftesbury, who told him in these shameless words, "My Lord, if you will come in to us, never trouble yourself, we will make you Lieutenant of Ireland." The way to this return was to oppose the Duke's stay here upon the several passages he made, but chiefly upon that before the session of Parliament. Lord Hallifax, though he fell not in with Lord Shaftesbury, yet was glad to make fair weather against the Parliament met, by his oppositions to the Duke. Lord Sunderland was struck with the boldness of the Lords presentment in Westminster-Hall, and the consequence of such men being so desperately engaged in an attempt wherein they were like to be seconded by the humour of the nation, upon the alarms of popery; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to support the Duke any longer, but would be forced to separate his interests from him at last: and he believed the King himself was of the same mind. Mr. Godolphin fell into the same thoughts with Lord Sunderland, both of the thing itself, and of the King's mind in it: so as upon the debate in council, concerning the Duke's stay or going back into Scotland before the Parliament met, these four joined absolutely in the reasons and advices for his going away; and though the rest of the council were generally of the contrary opinion, yet the King fell in with these four, and concluded the thing, against the Duke's will and his friends, as I have been told: for during all these transactions I was in the country, with my thoughts and preparations wholly turned upon my Spanish embassy; and I was the willinger to be there, upon the resolution I had long been fixed in, never to enter

into any differences or personal matters between the King and his brother.

The Duke went away, and the Parliament began, with the general knowledge of so many great persons having appeared so publicly against his Highness in Westminster-Hall, and so considerable ones in the Court itself, and at the council-table: those of the first gang fell immediately into the cabals of Lords and Commons who framed the Bill of Exclusion; wherein they were desperately engaged, not only, as they professed, upon opinion of national ends, but likewise upon that of self-preservation, having broken irreparably all measures already with the Duke: the generality of the House of Commons were carried, partly with the plausibleness of the thing, calculated in appearance only against popery, without any private ends as was pretended; and partly with the opinion of the King's resolution to fall into it, upon the observation of such Lords of the Court having engaged so far in sending away the Duke. All the Duke of Monmouth's friends drove it on violently; not doubting he would lie in the Duke's place, though n provision seemed to be made for that in the forms of the draught: and all these circumstances concurring, made so violent a torrent for carrying on this bill, as nothing could resist, or any ways divert; and as it happens upon all occasions, the small opposition, made by two or three men, made the violence the greater.

Besides these general circumstances, there were two more particular and personal, that seemed to me to have great influence upon the House: one was Lord Russel setting himself, almost with affectation, at the head of this affair; who was a person in general repute of an honest worthy gentleman, without tricks or private ambition, and who

was known to venture as great a stake perhaps as any subject of England. The other was Sir William Jones entering upon it so abruptly and so desperately as he did, if I mistake not, the first day he came into the House (at least I have been told so, for I was not there), which was some time after the session began, having been engaged in a disputed election. And this person having the name of the greatest lawyer of England, and commonly of a very wise man; besides this, of a very rich, and of a wary or rather timorous nature; made people generally conclude that the thing was certain and safe, and would at last be agreed on all parts, whatever countenance were made at Court.

The bill passed the House of Commons, and was carried up by Lord Russel to the House of Lords; as I think, for I was not there at the House. But, in the House of Lords, it met with another kind of reception. The King was resolved, and declared against the bill: and though Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Essex, and, as I remember, about fifteen more, were violently for it; yet the rest of the House were firm and positive against it; among whom Lord Hallifax appeared most in the head of all debates; and so it was, after long contest, absolutely thrown out. This enraged the House of Commons; and, having failed of the only thing they seemed to have at heart, made them fall upon persons; engage first in the pursuit of Lord Stafford to the block, upon the score of the plot; and then in addresses, either upon general discontents in the public affairs, or upon common fame against particular men.

During the whole proceedings of this session of Parliament, I played a part very impertinent for a man that had any designs or ambitions about him; but for me who had none (and whose head was fixed either upon my embassy into Spain, or upon my absolute retirement) the only one wherein I could

have satisfied myself. As I never entered into public business by my own choice or pursuit, but always called into it by the King or his Ministers; so I never made the common use of it, by ever asking either money, lands, or honour of his Majesty; though I have been often enough urged to it by my friends, and invited by so great degrees of confidence and favour, as I have stood in with his Majesty both often and long. I never had my heart set upon any thing in public affairs, but the happiness of my country, and greatness of the Crown: and, in order to that, the union of both, by which alone, I thought both could be atchieved. When I fell first into despair of this, I fell first into a distaste of all public affairs; which has been nourished by a course of such accidents and turns of Court, and personal inconstancies or infidelities, as I have related. By what means I came to be so long engaged, as to see this session of Parliament, I have told; but it is not to be told, the vexation and trouble which the course of it gave me. I knew very well, that all the safety of Flanders and Holland depended upon the union of his Majesty with his Parliament, which might enable him to make such a figure in Christendom, as the Crown of England has done, and ought always to do. The Dutch had sent over Monsieur Van Lewen to make both Court and country sensible of this necessity that Christendom was in; and how much all would lie at the mercy of France, from the day they saw the hopes of it fail. The House of Commons met, with such a bent upon what they thought the chief of their home concerns, that the name of any thing foreign would not be allowed among them; nay, the mention of Spanish leagues, alliances with Holland, and measures intended by the King with other confederates, were laughed at, as Court-tricks, and too stale to pass any more.

They fell downright upon a point invincible, which was the Bill of Exclusion; and in default of that, upon heats against the government and the Ministers, not without some glancing at the King. This was returned with heats at Court by those Ministers that were chiefly touched; which were Lord Hallifax, who, by a sudden turn, whereof I know no account, had at the beginning of the session fallen into the open defence of the Duke's interests; and Mr. Hyde, who, by his relation to the Duke, and by his education wholly at Court, was ever reckoned upon, as well as found to be, first in that point. Though I did not find by them, that they thought it would be to much purpose; only they promised to agree with the King upon the draught of some expedients in the case, which Lord Hallifax had charged himself with, and should be charged with to the House of Lords, during the heats of the Commons.

For my own part, so soon as I saw the bent of the House of Commons, the violence with which it was carried, and the distractions it was like to engage the kingdom in, at a time they were so little in season; I gave over first all hopes, and then all thoughts upon so unpleasant a theme. In the business of the bill I never meddled, nor so much as reasoned either in or out of the House; having declared my opinion to the King and his Ministers, that it was to no purpose to oppose it there; nor for the King to take notice of the Commons address upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any bills, or any addresses upon things of that nature, were brought to him from both Houses, he would answer them. By this means I thought the King was sure of his end; for the bill would certainly fall as often as it came into the House of Lords; and, if he should be forced to break the Parliament, it would be better done upon invinci-

ble difference between the two Houses, than upon any between his Majesty and the House of Commons. But this opinion was not agreed to by the chief Ministers. After that, I pressed both the King and them to bring such expedients as they told me were resolved on; that so we might make all the strength we could to support them in the House of Commons, and thereby reduce things to some temper; but these, though daily talked of, never appeared. I went not often, either to the House or Council; but when I did, and thought it to any purpose, I endeavoured to allay the heats on either side; and told the King I expected to be turned out of the House in the morning, and out of the Council in the afternoon. Mr. Hyde asked me one day in the council-chamber, why I came so seldom to the House or Council; I told him, it was upon Solomon's advice, neither to oppose the mighty, nor go about to stop the current of a river: upon which he said, I was a wise and a quiet man; and, if it were not for some circumstances he could not help, he would do so too.

I do not remember to have spoken in the House, but upon the motion of supplies for Tangier*; upon the digestion of the first address about general grievances; and in the cases of my Lord Chief Justice North, and my Lord Hallifax being impeached upon common fame: nor at any general councils, unless it were upon the House of Commons address against Lord Hallifax, and upon a debate about dissolving the Parliament; wherein I desired the King and Council never to lay aside the thoughts and endeavours of agreeing either with this or some other Parliament, as a matter of so great necessity to the state of his Majesty's affairs both abroad and at home. Lord Hallifax answered me in few words,

* See the Appendix.

that every body was sensible of the necessity of the King's agreeing with his Parliaments, though not with this: and * Mr. Seymour told me, he perfectly agreed with me in what I had said. The last thing I did, in House or Council, was to carry the King's last answer to the Commons, containing his resolutions never to consent to the exclusion of the Duke†; which Secretary Jenkins had been charged with the night before at council: but he was thought too unacceptable to the House, it seems, for a message that was like to prove so; and next morning the King would have had Sir Robert Carr or Mr. Godolphin have carried it, but they both excused themselves; upon which the King sent for me.

I told his Majesty, I did not very well understand why a thing, agreed upon last night at council-table, should be altered in his chamber; but that I was very willing however to obey him, and the rather upon others having excused themselves, and to shew his Majesty that I intended to play no popular games: upon which I took the paper, and told the King that I was very sensible how much of his confidence I formerly had, and how much I had lost, without knowing the occasion; or else I might have had part in the consulting this change of what was last night resolved, as well as in executing it; and I would confess to his Majesty, that I had not so good a stomach in business, as to be content only with swallowing what other people had chewed. Upon which I went away, and carried my message to the House, which was received just as was expected. I tell this passage freely, as I do all the rest; as the only thing I could imagine the King could ever take ill of me; and yet I know

* Afterwards Sir E. Seymour. † See the Appendix.

not how it could be a fault, more than in a point of manners neither, or the homeliness of expression.

That which completed my resolution of recess from all public business, was to find, as I thought, very plainly, that both parties, who could agree in nothing else, yet did it in this one point, of bringing things to the last extremity. Lord Shaftesbury and his party thought the points of popular discontents and petitions, or at least that of the King's wants, would at last bring the Court to their mercy in one Parliament or other. Those Ministers, who were past all measures with the House of Commons, thought there was no way, but by their heats, to bring the King to a dislike, and thereby to a disuse of Parliaments. And by this likewise the Duke's interest seemed at present only to be secured. So that, where both parties consented in dividing to extremity on each side, no man could think any longer of uniting; nor consequently to see the Crown in such a posture as I had ever wished it, and for our neighbours sakes as well as our own.

I found this yet more evident at the last debates, during my assistance at the foreign committee, concerning the answer his Majesty should return to the repeated addresses of the House of Commons, relating to the Bill of Exclusion. I was of opinion it should be, that, when both Houses agreed upon an address to this purpose, he would give them an answer; but till then would suspend it, and not send a positive answer to one House upon so weighty an occasion, which, for aught he knew, might be contrary to the sense of the other. By this means he would be secure from the necessity of any direct breach with the Commons; since he knew well enough, the Lords would not consent to the address. And, if the Parliament came to be dissolved, it were better for the King it should break

upon differences between the two Houses, than between his Majesty and them. For this would give the nation an opinion, that he was resolved to live without Parliaments hereafter; which might endanger perhaps our peace at home, but would however ruin the hopes of our neighbours abroad, who had no other of defending themselves against France, but by the power of England: that, if this Parliament broke upon disputes or differences between the two Houses, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a third, and agree with some of them, by which alone he could be great and safe both at home and abroad. For it was between the King and his Parliament, as between the mountain and Mahomet, who told the people what miracles he would do when he was at the top of the mountain; and to that purpose he would on such a day call it to him; he did so, but the mountain would not come; whereupon he said, that, if the mountain would not come to Mahomet, he would go to the mountain; for unless they both met, no wonders could be done. The King seemed pleased with all I said, and with the comparison; but those of the committee, that were chief in the private measures taken at this time, were for a positive answer to be given the House of Commons, let them take it how they pleased; and accordingly this was resolved.

However, all these considerations or interests could not move the King to dissolve this Parliament, without calling another at the same time to meet at Oxford in the spring. Whereupon, the heads of the university at Cambridge sent to me, to know whether I intended to stand again for that election: I went to the King to acquaint him with it, and know his pleasure what answer I should return them: he seemed at first indifferent, and bid me do what I would: but when I said I was very

indifferent too, and would do in it what his Majesty liked best; he said, in a manner kind and familiar, that, considering how things stood at this time, he doubted my coming into the House would not be able to do much good; and therefore he thought it as well for me to let it alone; which I said I would do.

When I left the King I went to my Lord Sunderland, and told him what had passed; who took this as the first certain sign of his Majesty's having fixed his resolution, and left off all thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his measures another way, for the supply of his treasures in the ill condition they were in. He knew very well, that, during the last session, the King had always told me, that he was resolved to propose some expedients to the Houses, upon which he had hopes they might agree: that he had ordered Lord Hallifax to draw them up, and had bid me reserve my credit in the House for that occasion: and that, if there were any thoughts of agreeing with the next Parliament, the King, he was sure, would have been glad to have had me in the House. He said upon it, in some passion, that he now gave all for gone, and that he must confess I knew the King better than he had done; and so we parted.

Within few days, employed wholly in my domestic concerns, and in order to the remove I intended, I left the town and went to Sheen: from whence I sent the King word by my son, that I would pass the rest of my life like as good a subject as any he had; but that I would never meddle any more with any public affairs; and desired his Majesty would not be displeased with this resolution. The King very graciously bid him tell me, that he was not angry with me, no not at all.

I had not been above a week at Sheen, when my Lady Northumberland (who lived then at Sion),

came to my closet one morning, and told me, that, the day before, my Lord Sunderland, my Lord Essex's names, and mine, were struck out of the council; which was the first word I heard of any such thing; and upon which I neither made any reflections nor enquiries; though many others seemed much to wonder, and enquired of me what could be the reason of my being joined with the other two Lords, whose proceedings had been very different.

My Lord Sunderland was, during the late session of Parliament, fallen under a great displeasure of his Majesty; and into an outrageous quarrel with Lord Hallifax. The last happened, not only upon their dividing in the businesses of the Parliament and council, but likewise upon Lord Sunderland's entering into new commerce and measures with Lord Shaftesbury; as my Lord Hallifax told me, and which I should not have otherwise known; for, if there were any such commerce, Lord Sunderland had made it a secret to me; as knowing too well the aversion I always had for that Lord, and the whole course of his proceedings in all public affairs. But Lord Sunderland told me another reason of the quarrel between him and Lord Hallifax; which, he said, broke out the same night a debate arose at council concerning an address of the House of Commons against Lord Hallifax, wherein Lord Sunderland had been of opinion, the King should not yield to it. But, after council, Lord Hallifax went to Lord Sunderland's lodgings, where they fell into discourse of what had passed; and Lord Sunderland told him, that though he had given his opinion at council as he thought became him; yet, if such an address should ever be made against himself, he would certainly desire leave of the King to retire, as a thing that would be for his service. Upon this Lord Hallifax fell into such a passion, that he went out of the room, and from that time

they hardly lived in any common civility where they met.

The refiners thought Lord Hallifax, who saw himself topped by Lord Sunderland's credit and station at Court, resolved to make this sudden turn of falling in with the King, upon the point then in debate about the Bill of Exclusion, wherein he found the King steady, and that my Lord Sunderland would lose himself; so that, falling into confidence with the King upon such a turn, he should be alone chief in the Ministry, without competitor. At least the reasoners on this matter could find no other ground for such a change in Lord Hallifax's course, after what he had so long steered, and so lately in having been the chief promoter of the Duke's being sent away to Scotland just before the meeting of the Parliament.

The King's quarrels to my Lord Sunderland, as far as I could observe, were chiefly two: first, his voting in the Lords House for the Bill of Exclusion, not only against the King's mind, but against his express command; which, for a person actually in his service, and in such a post as Secretary of State, seemed something extraordinary. And I remember, when I spoke to him of it, as what the King must resent, and what I was confident he would be steady in, he told me it was too late, for his honour was engaged, and he could not break it. The other was a memorial, sent over by Mr. Sidney, the King's envoy at the Hague, and given him by the Pensioner Fagel, representing the sad consequences abroad, of his Majesty's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the danger of his allies, and of the Protestant religion; and thereupon, though not directly, yet seeming to wish that the King would not break with them, though it were even upon the point of the Bill of Exclusion. This was, as I remember, the substance; for I never

heard a word of it, either before or after its being received at the foreign committee; where I was as much surprised at it as any one there, but had not the same thoughts of its original, as I find some other of the Lords had. For they believed it a thing directed and advised from hence; and, in a word, by Lord Sunderland to Mr. Sidney his uncle, as a matter that would be of weight to induce the King to pass the bill. But besides that, Lord Sunderland protested to me, after council, that he knew nothing of it till he received a copy from Mr. Sidney, who sent the original to the other secretary. I thought he could not understand the King so ill, as to believe, that would be a motive to him to pass the bill, or that it could have any other effect than to anger him at the Dutch, for meddling in a matter that was domestic, not only to the nation, but to the Crown. Besides, I observed the style to be of one that understood little of our constitution, by several expressions in the paper; whereof one was, why the King should not prevent such consequences, when he might do it *par un trait de plume* [by a stroke with a pen]; which shewed, the author thought our acts of Parliament had been passed by the King's signing them.

This, and the whole cast of it, made me believe it certainly came from the Pensioner Fagel; a man of great piety and zeal in his religion, mightily concerned for all he thought would endanger it; and besides, of great warmth and suddenness in pursuing any thought that possessed him. However, the King, as well as some of the committee, believed, this was of my Lord Sunderland's forge; and that many of the heats in the House of Commons had been encouraged and raised to such height by his seeming to favour them; which, they might think, he would not do unless he believed the King would at length comply with them.

These, I suppose, were the reasons of the resolution taken at Court to remove Lord Sunderland, both from the Secretary's office and the Council. What made my Lord Essex be joined with him is a great deal more obvious; having ever since meeting of the Parliament run up in the greatest heights and nearest measures with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury, both in the Bill of Exclusion, and all other matters where he intervened, either in debates of Parliament or of Council; either concerning the bill, or several addresses against Ministers. How I came to be joined with these two Lords, by the King's ordering our names to be struck out of the council-book at the same time, I neither know, nor could ever give any reason, unless it were, what was commonly guessed, of my being a friend of the Prince of Orange, or of my Lord Sunderland, with whom I had a very long acquaintance, and of our families, as well as personal. For the first, I could think it no crime, considering how little that Prince had ever meddled, at least to my knowledge, in any domestic concerns of his Majesty, during all that passed since the first heats in Parliament here, though he had been extreme sensible of the consequences they were like to have upon all his interests, and nearest concerns at home; which were, the preservation of Flanders from the French conquest, and thereby of Holland from falling by sudden treaties into an absolute dependance upon that Crown.

I can give no other reason, unless it were, that as my Lord Salisbury had been struck out some days before, upon his having declared at council, that he would come there no more; so his Majesty and his Ministers might think, that upon my having taken the same resolution as to that, and all public affairs, though signified only in private to his Majesty, and with all the good manners that

Secretary's office, his uncle Coventry would look out for some other chapman; for as soon as he had found one, he was resolved to part with it. I told him I was very willing, and would speak to the King, that his market should not be spoiled upon any occasion. Whether his Lordship believed me or no, I did so, and desired his Majesty to think of some other for that place; for my ill health increasing with my age, made me find myself unable to go through with the toils of that office, if executed in the forms and with the attendance it required. The King told me, he could not consent to it; that if he should, he knew not a man in England fit for it besides me, so that I had no reason to take it kindly of him. I desired his Majesty to give me leave, and I would propose three persons, of which I would undertake every one should be fitter than I. The King would not so much as hear me name them; but told me, it was a point he had been so long fixed in, that he could not change his resolution.

In our last meeting we had calculated how many at council could, in any probability, oppose the dissolving of the present Parliament, and calling another; and we had concluded, there could not be above six in the whole council that could be against it at the most; which we thought would be a great support to the King's resolution, against all the exclamations we expected from Lord Shaftesbury and his friends; and at least, that it would be safe against the consequences which were usually deduced from the forms of calling Parliaments always by advice of the council, that the dissolving of them ought to be so too, at least when it was not at their own desire.

The council-day came; and when I came thither, and found the King and three Lords, with some others already there, I asked Lord Sunder

the gentleman that brought it, *L'a-t'il dit? par Dieu il me le payera bien* [Did he say so? by G—d I'll make him pay dear for it]; and therefore entered immediately into practices with some discontented nobles of Scotland then at Paris; sent over two hundred thousand pistoles to others in that kingdom, and gave thereby a beginning to the first troubles that were raised there. From which time, the business of France has ever been to foment all divisions of England, whose interest they saw would be ever to cross their great design. However, Cardinal Mazarin, after having surmounted his own dangers in France, and the difficulties incident to a minority, pursued the plan left him by his predecessor: and by his measures taken with Cromwell, and the assistance of an immortal body of six thousand brave English, which were by agreement to be continually recruited, he made such a progress in Flanders, that Cromwell soon found the balance turned, and grown too heavy on the French side: whereupon he dispatched a gentleman privately to Madrid, to propose there a change of his treaty with France into one with Spain, by which he would draw his forces over into their service, and make them ten thousand to be continually recruited, upon condition their first action should be to besiege Calais, and, when taken, to put it into his hands. The gentleman sent upon this errand, was past the Pyrenees when he was overtaken by the news of Cromwell's death; whereupon Mazarin, having not only lost his strongest support in Flanders, but observed how that design would never be served by any measures he could take in England, however it should be governed, by the most legal or most usurped powers, he resolved upon a peace with Spain; and made it at the Pyrenees, against the general sense, both of the chief persons in the Court and the army, but particular-

ly against the instances of Monsieur De Turenne, who engaged himself to conquer all that was left of Flanders in two campaigns more: but some domestic reasons prevailed with the Cardinal; besides his age and great infirmities, which ended his life not long after the peace was made.

The present King, left in full peace with all his neighbours, in the flower of his youth, and instructed in the school of so able a Minister, began to pursue the great design, by the three paces most necessary to advance it; which were, the wise management of his revenue, and heaping up a mass of treasure: the increase of his naval force, by building many great ships, and buying others from the Dutch; and by the purchase of Dunkirk in the year 1662, without which he could not have aspired to the conquest of Flanders, or to his greatness at sea; having no other haven upon the Channel: after this, by fomenting on both sides the seeds of dissension between us and the Dutch, which were sprung from other covered roots. He saw us engaged in a war with Holland in 1665, and with such honour and successes, that the Dutch would soon have been forced to a peace, had not France first assisted them at land, against the Bishop of Munster; and then declared war against us, and set out his fleet for assisting the Dutch. This made the war more equally balanced, and thereby last till France, taking advantage at our division, invaded Flanders; and, by a surprise of the unprepared Spaniards, and two campaigns, carried the most considerable frontier places on both sides; as Doway, Lisle, Tournay, on the one side; Charleroy and Aeth, on the other; by which they left the rest of Flanders at the mercy of another campaign. The Dutch were alarmed at these successes of so mighty a neighbour so near their own doors; and we were spited at the French having declared war

against us in favour of Holland, contrary to our expectations; and both together contributed to the peace at Breda in the end of the year 1667, and to our leagues with Holland with the triple alliance in 1668, for defence of the Spanish Netherlands. Upon our peace with Holland, France stopped their career in Flanders, and made overtures of peace with Spain; by the offer of an alternative, either to retain their conquests in Flanders, or else the whole county of Burgundy. We and Holland forced in Spain to accept one of them; and the Spaniards, spited at this hardship upon them from neighbours who, they thought, had as much interest as they to preserve Flanders, chose the worst, which was to leave the frontiers of Flanders in the French hands, on purpose to give us and Holland the greater jealousy of France, and in hopes thereby to engage us all in a war with that Crown. And upon these terms the peace was made at Aix la Chapelle in 1668.

After this, France turned all their counsels to break the measures between us and Holland, which gave a stop to their great design. The Dutch were stanch; but we gave way by the corruption of our Ministers, and the French practices upon the dispositions of our Court; which at length engaged us in a joint war of both Crowns upon Holland in 1672, to the amazement of all men both abroad and at home, and almost to the utter ruin of that State; till the Empire and Spain, roused by the danger of Holland, which must have ended in that of Flanders, and all the German provinces on this side the Rhine, entered boldly into the war, for the assistance of the Dutch; which gave them some breath, and carried the scene of war into Flanders and Germany. At the same time, the discontents of the people and Parliament at the war, and the necessity of declaring it against Spain

as well as Holland, if we continued longer in it, prevailed with the King to make a separate peace with Holland in 1673, and to offer his mediation to all the parties engaged in the war; which ended in the treaty of Nimeguen, and at last in a peace there, concluded in 1678: whereby a frontier was left to the Spanish Netherlands on the Brabant side, by restitution of Aeth and Charleroy, to satisfy the Dutch; but all that remained on the side of Flanders, after the peace of Aix, as Cambray, Air, St. Omer, with many others taken by France in the last war, were by this treaty left in their possession; besides great pretences by dependencies, both in Flanders and Alsace; so as Flanders was left at their mercy, whenever we or Holland should abandon its defence. And finding both nations in general but too sensible of our interest on that side, the councils of France began new practices upon our Court, wherein they were encouraged by our factions, and the necessities of money, into which they had drawn the King.

These were the progresses which France had made in their great design, by two wars, and two general treaties of peace; whereof that at Nimeguen seemed more victorious than their arms had been. But they had made another, yet more important than either, by their practices upon the Elector and Chapter of Cologne, having gained the majority of voices there for the succession of Prince William of Furstemburg to that principality, whenever the present Elector should fail, who is old and infirm, and has, for some years past, deceived the world by living so long. Prince William, though a German, yet having long devoted himself to the French interests, and been refuged and supported by that Crown against the indignation and revenge of the Emperor, is as much a Frenchman as any bishop of that kingdom; so as,

whenever he comes to the Electorate, France will be absolute master of that principality; and thereby cast shackles, not only upon the other Princes of the Rhine, but upon Holland too, both by cutting off their trade upon the Rhine, and by bordering upon their inland provinces, which are most exposed and hard to be defended: it is said he is likewise assured of the Chapter of Liege, in favour of the same Prince; which if true, and this principality fall likewise under the same dominion, upon the death of the present Elector, France will then surround the frontiers of Brabant, and cut off all commerce, or means of defence, between them and Luxemburg; that they will not have above the work of one campaign to draw the net over the rest of Flanders, and reduce all the great cities there; after which, the rest must follow, and thereby Holland be left to take what measures they can with France, and become at best a maritime province to that Crown; though, perhaps, under the name of a free State (for fear of dispeopling their country), but with such dependance as will leave France the use both of their ships and money, upon occasion, in other parts. Whenever this happens, what condition England will be left in, upon such an increase of the French territory and land, as well as naval power, is easy to conjecture; but hard, how it can be prevented, otherwise than by our vigorous conjunction of counsels, as well as interests, with all the late confederates; and by a firm union between the Court and the nation upon one common bottom, both at home and abroad, and chiefly for the preservation of Flanders against the French designs.

I easily discovered how fit a posture we were in to engage in such resolutions. The nation divided into two strong factions with the greatest heats and animosities, and ready to break out into vio-

lence upon the first occasion. The heads on both sides desiring it, as grown past all temper or composure. The King involved in such necessities and disorders of his revenue, as, if he could not hope supplies from Parliaments, would throw him upon seeking them from France; which would end in such measures with that Crown, as would leave them at liberty to pursue their great design by new attempts upon their neighbours; who, without the support of England, must give way either by weak defences or submissive treaties.

Upon the survey of all these circumstances, conjunctures, and dispositions, both at home and abroad, I concluded in cold blood, that I could be of no further use or service to the King my Master and my country, whose true interests I always thought were the same, and would be both in danger when they came to be divided, and for that reason had ever endeavoured the uniting them; and had compassed it, if the passions of some few men had not lain fatally in the way, so as to raise difficulties that I saw plainly were never to be surmounted. Therefore, upon the whole, I took that firm resolution, in the end of the year 1680, and the interval between the Westminster and Oxford Parliaments, never to charge myself more with any public employments; but retiring wholly to a private life, in that posture take my fortune with my country, whatever it should prove: which as no man can judge, in the variety of accidents that attend human affairs, and the chances of every day, to which the greatest lives as well as actions are subject; so I shall not trouble myself so much as to conjecture: *fata viam inveniant.*

Besides all these public circumstances, I considered myself in my own humour, temper, and dispositions, which a man may disguise to others, though very hardly, but cannot to himself. I had

learned by living long in Courts and public affairs, that I was fit to live no longer in either. I found the arts of a Court were contrary to the frankness and openness of my nature; and the constraints of public business too great for the liberty of my humour and my life. The common and proper ends of both are the advancement of men's fortunes; and that I never minded, having as much as I needed, and, which is more, as I desired. The talent of gaining riches I ever despised, as observing it to belong to the most despisable men in other kinds: and I had the occasions of it so often in my way, if I would have made use of them, that I grew to disdain them, as a man does meat that he has always before him. Therefore, I never could go to service for nothing but wages, nor endure to be fettered in business when I thought it was to no purpose. I knew very well the arts of a Court are, to talk the present language, to serve the present turn, and to follow the present humour of the Prince, whatever it is: of all these I found myself so incapable, that I could not talk a language I did not mean, nor serve a turn I did not like, nor follow any man's humour wholly against my own. Besides, I have had, in twenty years experience, enough of the uncertainty of Princes, the caprices of fortune, the corruption of Ministers, the violence of factions, the unsteadiness of counsels, and the infidelity of friends; nor do I think the rest of my life enough to make any new experiments.

For the ease of my own life, if I know myself, it will be infinitely more in the retired, than it has been in the busy scene: for no good man can, with any satisfaction, take part in the divisions of his country, that knows and considers, as I do, what they have cost Athens, Rome, Constantinople, Florence, Germany, France, and England: nor can the wisest man foresee how ours will end, or

what they are like to cost the rest of Christendom as well as ourselves. I never had but two aims in public affairs; one, to see the King great as he may be by the hearts of his people, without which I know not how he can be great by the constitutions of this kingdom: the other, in case our factions must last, yet to see a revenue established for the constant maintaining a fleet of fifty men of war, at sea or in harbour, and the seamen in constant pay; which would be at least our safety from abroad, and make the Crown still considered in any foreign alliances, whether the King and his Parliaments should agree or not in undertaking any great or national war. And such an establishment I was in hopes the last Parliament at Westminster might have agreed in with the King, by adding so much of a new fund to three hundred thousand pounds a-year out of the present customs. But these have both failed, and I am content to have failed with them.

And so I take leave of all those airy visions which have so long busied my head about mending the world; and, at the same time, of all those shining toys or follies that employ the thoughts of busy men: and shall turn mine wholly to mend myself; and, as far as consists with a private condition, still pursuing that old and excellent counsel of Pythagoras, that we are, with all the cares and endeavours of our lives, to avoid diseases in the body, perturbations in the mind, luxury in diet, factions in the House, and seditions in the State.

THE

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

THE PIECES REFERRED TO IN THESE MEMOIRS.

A Declaration relating to the Establishment of the new Privy-Council, mentioned page 511.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 21st April, 1679:

PRESENT,

The KING'S Most Excellent MAJESTY in Council.

HIS Majesty having caused the Privy-Council to meet yesterday extraordinary, was then pleased to order the Lord Chancellor of England to read to them the following Declaration:—

MY LORDS,

HIS Majesty hath called you together, at this time, to communicate to you a resolution he hath taken in a matter of great importance to his Crown and Government; and which, he hopes, will prove of the greatest satisfaction and advantage to his kingdoms in all affairs hereafter, both at home and abroad; and therefore he doubts not of your approbation, however you may seem concerned in it.

In the first place, his Majesty gives you all thanks for your service to him here, and for all the good advices you have given him; which might have been more frequent, if the great number of this council had not made it unfit for the secrecy and dispatch that are necessary in many great affairs. This forced him to use a smaller number of you in a foreign committee, and sometimes the advices of some few among them (upon such occasions) for many years past. He is sorry for the ill success he

has found in this course, and sensible of the ill posture of affairs from that and some unhappy accidents, which have raised great jealousies and dissatisfaction among his good subjects; and thereby left the Crown and Government in a condition too weak for those dangers we have reason to fear, both at home and abroad.

These, his Majesty hopes, may be yet prevented by a course of wise and steady counsels for the future; and these kingdoms grow again to make such a figure as they have formerly done in the world; and as they may always do, if our union and conduct were equal to our force. To this end, he hath resolved to lay aside the use he may have hitherto made of any single Ministry or private advices, or foreign committees, for the general direction of his affairs: and to constitute such a Privy-Council, as may not only, by its number, be fit for the consultation and digestion of all business, both domestic and foreign, but also by the choice of them, out of the several parts this State is composed of, may be the best informed in the true constitutions of it, and thereby the most able to counsel him in all the affairs and interests of this Crown and nation. And, by the constant advice of such a council, his Majesty is resolved hereafter to govern his kingdoms; together with the frequent use of his great council of Parliament, which he takes to be the true ancient constitution of this State and Government.

Now, for the greater dignity of this council, his Majesty resolves their constant number shall be limited to thirty; and, for their greater authority, there shall be fifteen of his chief officers, who shall be privy-counsellors by their places; and, for the other fifteen, he will choose ten out of the several ranks of the nobility, and five commoners of the realm, whose known abilities, interests, and esteem in the nation, shall render them without suspicion of either mistaking or betraying the true interest of the kingdom, and consequently of advising him ill.

In the first place, therefore, and to take care of the church, his Majesty will have the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London for the time being. And, to inform him well in what concerns the laws, the Lord Chancellor, and one of the Lord Chief Justices. For the navy and stores (wherein consists the chief strength and safety of the kingdom), the Admiral and Master of the Ordnance. For the treasury, the Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer (or whenever any of these charges are in commission, then the First Commissioner to serve here in their room): the rest of the fifteen shall be the Lord Privy-Seal, the Master of the Horse, Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain of his Household, the Groom of the Stole, and the two Secretaries of State: and these shall be all the offices of his kingdom to which the dignity of a Privy-Counsellor shall be an-

nexed. The others his Majesty has resolved, and hopes he has not chosen ill. His Majesty intends, besides, to have such Princes of his blood, as he shall at any time call to this board, being here in Court: a President of the Council, whenever he shall find it necessary: and the Secretary of Scotland, when any such shall be here. But these being uncertain, he reckons not of the constant number of thirty, which shall never be exceeded.

To make way for this new council, his Majesty hath now resolved to dissolve this old one; and does hereby dissolve it, and from this time excuses your further attendance here: but with his repeated thanks for your service hitherto, and with the assurance of his satisfaction in you, so far that he should not have parted with you, but to make way for this new constitution, which he takes to be, as to the number and choice, the most proper and necessary for the uses he intends them. And as most of you have offices in his service, and all of you particular shares in his favour and good opinion, so he desires you will continue to exercise and deserve them, with the same diligence and good affections that you have hitherto done; and with confidence of his Majesty's kindness to you, and of those testimonies you shall receive of it upon other occasions.

Therefore, upon the present dissolution of this council, his Majesty appoints and commands all those officers he hath named, to attend him here to-morrow, at nine in the morning, as his Privy-Council; together with those other persons he designs to make up the number, and to each of whom he has already signed particular letters to that purpose; and commands the Lord Chancellor to see them issued out accordingly; which is the form he intends to use, and that hereafter they shall be signed in council, so that nothing may be done unadvisedly in the choice of any person to a charge of so great dignity and importance to the kingdom.

And, in pursuance thereof, his Majesty did this day declare, that he had made choice of the several persons hereafter named, to be of his Privy-Council.

His Highness Prince Rupert.
Dr. William Sancroft, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.
Heneage Lord Finch, Lord Chancellor of England.
Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord President of the Council.
Arthur Earl of Anglesea, Lord Privy Seal.
Christopher Duke of Albemarle.
James Duke of Monmouth, Master of the Horse.

Henry Duke of Newcastle.
John Duke of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for Scotland.
James Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of the Household.
Charles Lord Marquis of Winchester.
Henry Lord Marquis of Worcester.
Henry Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.
James Earl of Salisbury.
John Earl of Bridgewater.
Robert Earl of Sunderland, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.
Arthur Earl of Essex, First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury.
John Earl of Bath, Groom of the Stole.
Thomas Lord Viscount Falconberg.
George Lord Viscount Hallifax.
Henry Lord Bishop of London.
John Lord Roberts.
Denzil Lord Hollis.
William Lord Russel.
William Lord Cavendish.
Henry Coventry, Esq. one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.
Sir Francis North, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
Sir Henry Capell, Knight of the Bath, First Commissioner of the Admiralty.
Sir John Ernley, Knt. Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Sir Thomas Chicheley, Knt. Master of the Ordnance.
Sir William Temple, Baronet.
Edward Seymour, Esq.
Henry Powle, Esq.

And his Majesty commanded such of them as were then present to be sworn, and to take their places at the board accordingly.

The Right Honourable Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, who was by his Majesty's special command sworn Lord President of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, took his place at the board accordingly.

His Majesty was this day also pleased to declare, that he intended to make

Sir Henry Capell, Knight of the Bath,
Daniel Finch, Esq;

Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet,
Sir Humphrey Winch, Baronet,
Sir Thomas Meers, Baronet,
Edward Vaughan, Esq;
Edward Hales, Esq;

Commissioners for the execution of the office of Lord High Admiral of England, who shall only attend that business.

His Majesty was also pleased to declare, that he would have all his affairs here debated freely, of what kind soever they were; and therefore absolute secrecy.

His Majesty was also pleased to declare, that he would communicate this alteration of the Council unto both Houses of Parliament in a few words.

THE expedients mentioned by the Author in page 527, and some other parts of these Memoirs, met no success in the House of Commons; who, upon the Bill of Exclusion being thrown out by the Lords, had several other expedients offered them, by some of their own members, but could not fix upon any that were thought sufficient. One expedient was, to have a bill brought in for the association of all his Majesty's Protestant subjects; another was, a bill for the banishment of all considerable Papists out of England; a third, for securing frequent Parliaments. It was likewise proposed, that the Prince of Orange should be joined in the Administration with the Duke, upon his coming to the Crown; with sevreal other schemes, which all proved abortive; so that the House of Commons began to reassume the thoughts of the Bill of Exclusion; to which end they presented an Address, December 15th, 1680. The King's message, in answer to this Address, January 4th, 1680-81, was that which the

Author was commanded to carry to the House, as he tells us, page 553. And, because it may give the reader some light into the affairs and dispositions of those times, the address and the King's answer are here subjoined.

The humble ADDRESS of the House of Commons, presented to his Majesty, in answer to his Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, upon the fifteenth day of December, 1680.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, have taken into our serious consideration your Majesty's gracious Speech to both your Houses of Parliament on the fifteenth of this instant December; and do, with all the grateful sense of faithful subjects, and sincere Protestants, acknowledge your Majesty's great goodness to us, in renewing the assurances you have been pleased to give us of your readiness to concur with us in any means, for the security of the Protestant religion, and your gracious invitation of us to make our desires known to your Majesty.

But, with grief of heart, we cannot but observe, that to these princely offers your Majesty has been advised (by what secret enemies to your Majesty, and your people, we know not) to annex a reservation, which, if insisted on in the instance to which alone it is applicable, will render all your Majesty's other gracious inclinations of no effect or advantage to us. Your Majesty is pleased thus to limit your promise of concurrence in the remedies which shall be proposed, that they may consist with preserving the succession of the Crown in its due and

legal course of descent: and we do humbly inform your Majesty, that no interruption of that descent has been endeavoured by us, except only the descent upon the person of the Duke of York, who, by the wicked instruments of the Church of Rome, has been manifestly perverted to their religion. And we do humbly represent to your Majesty, as the issue of our most deliberate thoughts and consultations, that for the Papists to have their hopes continued, that a Prince of that religion shall succeed in the throne of these kingdoms, is utterly inconsistent with the safety of your Majesty's person, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the prosperity, peace, and welfare of your Protestant subjects.

That your Majesty's sacred life is in continual danger, under the prospect of a Popish successor, is evident, not only from the principles of those devoted to the Church of Rome, which allow that an heretical Prince (and such they term all Protestant Princes) excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, may be destroyed and murdered; but also from the testimonies given, in the prosecution of the horrid Popish plot, against divers traitors attainted for designing to put those horrid principles into practice against your Majesty.

From the expectation of this succession, has the number of Papists in your Majesty's dominions so much increased, within these few years, and so many been prevailed with to desert the true Protestant religion, that they might be prepared for the favours of a Popish Prince, as soon as he should come to the possession of the Crown: and, while the same expectation lasts, many more will be in the same danger of being perverted.

This it is that has hardened the Papists of this kingdom, animated and confederated by their priests and jesuits, to make a common purse, provide arms,

make application to foreign Princes, and solicit their aid, for imposing Popery upon us; and all this even during your Majesty's reign, and while your Majesty's government and the laws were our protection.

It is your Majesty's glory and true interest, to be the head and protector of all Protestants, as well abroad as at home; but, if these hopes remain, what alliances can be made for the advantage of the Protestant religion and interest, which shall give confidence to your Majesty's allies to join so vigorously with your Majesty, as the state of that interest in the world now requires, while they see this Protestant kingdom in so much danger of a Popish successor; by whom, at the present, all their counsels and actions may be eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom (if he should succeed) they are sure to be destroyed?

We have thus humbly laid before your Majesty some of those great dangers and mischiefs which evidently accompany the expectation of a Popish successor: the certain and unspeakable evils which will come upon your Majesty's Protestant subjects and their posterity, if such a Prince should inherit, are more also than we can well enumerate.

Our religion, which is now so dangerously shaken, will then be totally overthrown; nothing will be left, or can be found, to protect or defend it.

The execution of old laws must cease, and it will be in vain to expect new ones. The most sacred obligations of contracts and promises (if any should be given), that shall be judged to be against the interest of the Romish religion, will be violated; as is undeniable, not only from argument and experience elsewhere, but from the sad experience this nation once had on the like occasion.

In the reign of such a Prince the Pope will be acknowledged supreme (though the subjects of this

kingdom have sworn the contrary), and all causes, either as spiritual, or in order to spiritual things, will be brought under his jurisdiction.

The lives, liberties, and estates of all such Protestants as value their souls and their religion more than their secular concernments, will be adjudged forfeited.

To all this we might add, that it appears, in the discovery of the plot, that foreign Princes were invited to assist in securing the Crown to the Duke of York; with arguments from his great zeal to establish Popery, and to extirpate Protestants (whom they call heretics) out of his dominions; and such will expect performance accordingly.

We further humbly beseech your Majesty, in your great wisdom, to consider, whether, in case the Imperial Crown of this Protestant kingdom should descend to the Duke of York, the opposition, which may possibly be made to his possessing it, may not only endanger the further descent in the royal line, but even monarchy itself.

For these reasons, we are most humble petitioners to your most sacred Majesty, that, in tender commiseration of your poor Protestant people, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to depart from the reservation in your said speech; and, when a bill shall be tendered to your Majesty, in a parliamentary way, to disable the Duke of York from inheriting the Crown, your Majesty will give your royal assent thereto; and, as necessary to fortify and defend the same, that your Majesty will likewise be graciously pleased to assent to an act, whereby your Majesty's Protestant subjects may be enabled to associate themselves for the defence of your Majesty's person, the Protestant religion, and the security of your kingdoms.

These requests we are constrained humbly to

make to your Majesty, as of absolute necessity, for the safe and peaceable enjoyment of our religion.

Without these things, the alliances of England will not be valuable, nor the people encouraged to contribute to your Majesty's service.

As some further means for the preservation both of our religion and property, we are humble suitors to your Majesty, that from henceforth such persons only may be judges within the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, as are men of ability, integrity, and known affection to the Protestant religion; and that they may hold both their offices and salaries *Quamdiu se bene gesserint:* That (several deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace, fitly qualified for those employments, having been of late displaced, and others put in their room who are men of arbitrary principles, and countenancers of Papists and Popery), such only may bear the office of a lord-lieutenant as are persons of integrity and known affection to the Protestant religion: That deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace may be also so qualified, and may be moreover men of ability, of estates, and interest in their country:

That none may be employed as military officers, or officers in your Majesty's fleet, but men of known experience, courage, and affection to the Protestant religion.

These our humble requests being obtained, we shall, on our part, be ready to assist your Majesty for the preservation of Tangier, and for putting your Majesty's fleet into such a condition, as it may preserve your Majesty's sovereignty of the seas, and be for the defence of the nation.

If your Majesty hath, or shall make any necessary alliances, for defence of the Protestant religion, and interest and security of this kingdom,

this House will be ready to assist, and stand by your Majesty, in the support of the same.

After this our humble answer to your Majesty's gracious speech, we hope no evil instruments whatsoever shall be able to lessen your Majesty's esteem of that fidelity and affection we bear to your Majesty's service; but that your Majesty will always retain in your royal breast, that favourable opinion of us your loyal Commons; that those other good bills, which we have now under consideration, conducing to the great ends we have before mentioned; as also all laws for the benefit and comfort of your people, which shall, from time to time, be tendered for your Majesty's royal assent, shall find acceptance with your Majesty.

His Majesty's gracious message to the Commons in Parliament, January 4, 16$\frac{80}{81}$.

Charles R.

His Majesty received the address of this House with all the disposition they could wish to comply with their reasonable desires; but, upon perusing it, he is sorry to see their thoughts so wholly fixed upon the Bill of Exclusion, as to determine that all other remedies for the suppressing of Popery will be ineffectual. His Majesty is confirmed in his opinion against that bill by the judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains nothing more for him to say, in answer to the address of this House, but to recommend to them the consideration of all other means for the preservation of the Protestant religion; in which they have no reason to doubt of his concurrence, whenever they shall be presented to him in a parliamentary way: and that they would consider the present state of the kingdom, as well as the condition of Christendom, in such a manner, as may enable him

to preserve Tangier, and secure his alliances abroad, and the peace and settlement at home.

But this answer of the King's was so far from giving satisfaction, that the same day it was read in the House, after long debate, and a despair of any effectual expedients, the Commons came to the following resolutions.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that there is no security nor safety for the Protestant religion, the King's life, or government of this nation, without passing a bill for disabling James Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of this realm, and dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and to rely upon any other means and remedies, without such a bill, is not only insufficient, but dangerous.

Resolved, That his Majesty in his last message having assured this House of his readiness to concur in all other means for the preservation of the Protestant religion, this House doth declare, That until a bill be likewise passed for excluding the Duke of York, this House cannot give any supply to his Majesty, without danger to his Majesty's person, extreme hazard of the Protestant religion, and unfaithfulness to those by whom this House is intrusted.

These resolutions were followed by votes of addresses against several persons; and the heats still increasing in the House of Commons, the King, three days after, prorogued the Parliament, and the next week dissolved it by proclamation.

Page 549. Sir William Jones was reputed one of the best speakers in the House, and was very zealous in his endeavours for promoting the Bill of Exclusion. He was a person of great piety and virtue; and, having taken an affection to Sir William Temple, was sorry to see him employed in the de-

livery of so unacceptable a message to the House: the substance of what he said to the author upon it was this: that "for himself he was old and infirm, and expected to die soon: but you, said he, will in all probability live to see the whole kingdom lament the consequences of this message you have now brought us from the King."

Page 553. What the author spoke in the House does not only relate to the business of Tangier, but likewise to the Bill of Exclusion, which was then newly thrown out by the Lords. I shewed the speech to the author, who, as far as his memory could serve him, allowed it to be fairly taken. I think it very worthy of the author, though it appears to have been wholly unpremeditate. And since part of it relates to some passages in the Memoirs, it may be convenient to insert it here.

Mr. Speaker,

This debate hath more of weight in it than the business of Tangier. I think, as affairs now stand, the most part of Christendom is concerned in it, I am sure all the Protestants; and therefore I hope your patience will hold out, to have the whole circumstances of it fairly examined: for the arguments that have been offered, in the consideration of this message, have enlarged the debate further than was at first intended, and have brought the whole state of the nation, in some measure, before you, instead of that one particular business of Tangier; so that now what resolve you make will be a discovery of your inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a supply for Tangier, but as to giving money for alliances and all other occasions; upon which result the good or bad success of this Parliament doth depend. As to Tangier, I do agree with that worthy member that spoke before (though many are of a different opi-

nion), that it is not of any great use to us, upon the account of any advantage we shall make by it. But however, I think it is very well worth our keeping, because of the disadvantages we should receive by it, if it should fall into the hands either of the Turk or Spaniard, but especially the French, who will not only be thereby enabled to fetter us as to our trade in the Levant, but to curb also all other nations whatsoever; and be such an addition to the too great power he hath acquired both by sea and land already, that I am of opinion we ought to be very cautious how we weaken the security we now have, that it shall not fall into his hands. But if the mole and the town could be blown into the air, or otherwise reduced into its first chaos, I think, considering the charge it will cost keeping, England would not be much the worse for it; but to move you to consider any thing about that, at this time, cannot be proper, because the Moors have so besieged it, that the first thing that must be done, whether in order to keep it or destroy it, is to beat them off, by some speedy supplies which must be presently sent; or else the town, according to the best information come from thence, is like to be lost. And, Sir, I think this single consideration may be persuasive to move you to give some such supply as may be precisely necessary for the defence and protection of this place. A small sum of money, in comparison of what this House hath formerly given, may be sufficient to satisfy his Majesty's expectation, and secure the place too. But I must confess, Sir, it is not the consideration of Tangier that makes me press you to it, but the deplorable state of the Protestants abroad. Sir, I have had the honour to serve his Majesty in some public employments, and by that means may be a little more sensible of the state of affairs, in reference to our neighbours, than others may be;

having not only had the advantage of information, but was under a necessity of using my best endeavours to get a true account of them. Sir, I am confident the eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament; and not only the Protestants abroad, but many Catholic countries (who stand in fear of the power of France), do think themselves as much concerned in the success of this Parliament as this House; and will be as much perplexed to hear any ill news thereof. This, Sir, as well as the necessities of our affairs at home, make me trouble you at this time, to desire you to be careful what you do, that we may not occasion in his Majesty any dislike to this House. Whatever you do as to the business of money for Tangier, I pray, Sir, let there be no notice taken in your address, of the Lords having cast out your bill; for we have no reason to think the King was any ways concerned therein. To throw out a bill of so great importance, without a conference, was, in my humble opinion, very strange, and contrary to the usual proceedings of that House. But pray, Sir, let it lie at their doors that did it; for the King could not be concerned in a parliamentary way. For by this means we may obviate all misunderstandings with his Majesty about this affair; and, I hope, create in him a good opinion of this House, upon which the welfare, not only of this nation, but of Europe, doth much depend.

Sir, his Majesty, in his message, puts you in mind of giving advice, as well as money: I think, if we make that expression the ground of our address, we may naturally graft very good things thereon, especially what may conduce to the preservation of a fair correspondence. Sir, though a King alone cannot save a kingdom, yet a King alone can do very much to ruin it; and, though Parliaments alone cannot save this kingdom, yet Parliaments

alone may do much to ruin it; and therefore we cannot be too circumspect in what we do. It is our fortune to sit here in a critical time, when not only the affairs of this nation, but the Protestant religion abroad, need our continuance; and, for the same reason, we may justly fear that there are those who endeavour to contrive the putting off this Parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any advantage; and then I doubt not but his Majesty's care and goodness will at last overcome all difficulties, and bring this session to a happy conclusion.

END OF VOL. II.

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S.S.

resentments; and that I found myself so unfit for Courts, that I was resolved to pass the rest of my life in my own domestique, without troubling myself further about any public affairs, than not to appear sullen in not coming sometimes to general councils; and that Lord Essex and Hallifax's carriage to me had been such, after having been the two men of England I had it in my power and my fortunes most to oblige, that I would never have any thing more to do with them. This I said only to one person more; and how it came to be known by their two Lordships, I cannot tell; but there all commerce between us ended, further than what was common when we met at council, or in third places; though Lord Hallifax came to an *eclaircissement* with me the spring after, which ended very well, and I did him the service I could upon occasion in the late House, as well as in council, upon their heats against him.

I passed the rest of the summer at home, and left the three Lords in the chief ministry and sole confidence, as outwardly appeared, both with the King and Duke: and Lord Essex told my brother Sir John Temple, who was then here, that he had more credit with the King than all the rest of the Ministers, or any man in England: but the refined courtiers, who observe countenances and motions, had no opinion of it: and, soon after, Lord Essex and Hallifax, upon the private examination of an intrigue I could never make any thing of, nor thought worth my enquiry, which was commonly called the Meal-tub Plot, took such a distaste at finding themselves mentioned in it, and yet left out of the secret examinations about it, that the Duke was no sooner gone, but their discontents grew open against the Court; my Lord Essex left the Treasury; Lord Hallifax, in discourse to me, commended him for it, and told me his resolution to go

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the opening of the Parliament; and so a short prorogation was expected some days before that appointed for their assembly. I had not been at Court or Council in a month or six weeks; when, being recovered of a fit of the gout, I came to town, and went to Lord Sunderland, talked to him of my several arrears in the Treasury, desired his help, which he promised with great kindness, and went with me to the King, where we proposed and agreed the way of my satisfaction. The King seemed very kind to me, but neither one or the other of them said a word to me of any public business. From the King's chamber we went to the council, where I expected nothing but such common things as I knew had passed for a good while before; and so all passed, till I thought the council was ending, when the King after a little pause told us, that upon many considerations, which he could not at present acquaint us with, he found it necessary to make a longer prorogation than he had intended of the Parliament: that he had considered all the consequences, so far as to be absolutely resolved, and not to hear any thing that should be said against it: that he would have it prorogued till that time twelvemonth; and charged my Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly.

All at council were stunned at this surprising resolution, and the way of proposing it, except those few that were in the secret; and they thought fit to be silent, and leave the thing wholly upon his Majesty: several others rose up, and would have entered into the reasonings and consequences of it, but the King would not hear them, and so all debate ended. After which I rose, and told the King, that as to the resolution he had taken, I would say nothing, because he was resolved to hear no reasoning upon it; therefore I would only presume to offer him my humble advice as to the

course of his future proceedings; which was, that his Majesty in his affairs would please to make use of some council or other, and allow freedom to their debates and advices; after hearing which, his Majesty might yet resolve as he pleased: that if he did not think the persons or number of this present council suited with his affairs, it was in his power to dissolve them, and constitute another of twenty, of ten, or of five, or any number he pleased, and to alter them again when he would; but to make counsellors that should not counsel, I doubted whether it were in his Majesty's power or no, because it implied a contradiction; and, so far as I had observed either of former ages or the present, I questioned whether it was a thing had been practised in England by his Majesty's predecessors, or were so now by any of the present Princes of Christendom: and therefore I humbly advised him to constitute some such council as he would think fit to make use of in the digestion of his great and public affairs.

His Majesty heard me very graciously, and seemed not at all displeased with any thing I had said; nor any other person of the Lords of the Council, but most very much to approve it: yet, after the council was up, my Lord Sunderland came to me, told me, he was never so surprised as at what I had said, and expected it sooner from any man in England than me: that whatever resolutions had been taken about my business in the Treasury, he was sure nothing should be done. I replied, that, if he liked not what I said, he should have prevented it, by telling me, before I came to council, what was intended to be done; which if I had known, I would not have been there, no more than I had been so long before: and that, if my debt would not be paid, I must live the best I could without it.

Not long before, the Prince of Orange writ me word, how much he found the Duke unsatisfied with me, upon the belief that it was I had given the Prince those impressions and sentiments which he had upon the common affairs of Christendom; whereas, he could say on the contrary, that it was he had given me mine, and should never change his own till he were convinced *d'avoir tort* [of being in the wrong]: however, that he thought fit, out of friendship to me, to give me this advice.

I was now in a posture to be admirably pleased with having no part in public affairs: the Duke unsatisfied with me of late; the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury from the very first; Lord Essex and Hallifax out of all commerce with me upon what had passed; great civility from the other Ministers, but no communication; and the King himself, though very gracious, yet very reserved. Upon all this, and the melancholy prospect of our distractions at home, and thereupon the disasters threatening abroad: but chiefly upon my own native humour, born for a private life, and particular conversation or general leisure; I resolved to give over all part in public affairs, and came no more either to Court or Council in a month's time, which I spent chiefly in the country.

In this time the Lord Russel, Lord * Cavendish, Sir H. Capel, and Mr. Powle, distasted at the late prorogation, as well as at the manner of it, and pretending to despair of being able to serve the King any longer, in a conduct of affairs so disagreeable to the general humour of the people, went to the King together, and desired his Majesty to excuse their attendance any more upon him at council, which the King very easily consented to. Lord Salisbury, Lord Essex, and Lord Hallifax seemed

* Afterwards Duke of Devonshire.

to have taken the same resolution, though not in so much form. Upon which I thought it might be a great prejudice to his Majesty's affairs, to be left by so many at once: and that, if I wholly gave over at the same time, it would look like entering into a faction with persons who were only displeased with the present scene upon hopes of entering soon upon another, which was no part of my thoughts or designs. Therefore I resolved to go again to council, to shew I had not herded with those that had left it; and that my leaving it too might not occasion some mens greater distastes at the government.

In the intermission I had made, my wife, continuing her commerce with my Lady Sunderland, had met my Lord there; who, taking no notice of what had passed between us, asked her how I had proceeded in my business of the Treasury, and whether I needed his help, which he offered with great friendliness if I had occasion. When I came up to town, and went the first time to council; after it was done, I went to Lord Sunderland, told him what regards towards his Majesty had made me come up, and gave him thanks for his offers to my wife: I found him returned to his first temper towards me; entered into common affairs, but always with professions of my resolutions to retire, and my thoughts of a journey into Italy, which I had long promised the Great Duke. I lived on with my Lord Sunderland in all kindness, though not confidence, which was now wholly between him, and Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Godolphin. I made use of his offers, and by his help came to an issue in the most difficult point of my business in the Treasury.

The second time I was at council, after my return from Sheen, my Lord Sunderland told me he was to say something to me from the King, and desired we might meet after council was up. I went

to his lodgings, where he told me that Mr. Secretary Coventry being absolutely resolved to part with his place, and the King, having found I had long declined it, had now thoughts of consenting to Sir Lionel Jenkins's coming into it upon a bargain with the Secretary; but that the King would do nothing in it without first letting me know his thoughts; and asked whether I had any thing to say upon it. I made no stop in the world, but told his Lordship that the King could do nothing for me that I would take kinder than this; that I had several times pressed his Majesty to a new choice, and once offered to name some to him that I knew were fit for it; that I had resolved against it so long, that his Majesty had no reason to remember any of his engagements to me, how voluntary soever; but, that he was pleased to do it, was the most obliging in the world; and I was resolved immediately to go and make him my acknowledgments. I did so; they were extremely well taken, the King used me with great kindness, and Sir Lionel Jenkins came into the office.

I passed the winter in town, though with much indisposition; going sometimes to the council, and sometimes to the foreign committee, but not frequently to either, and meddling very little with any thing that passed there; unless it was what concerned the affairs of Ireland, which happened to be then hot upon the anvil; the Duke of Ormond and council of that kingdom having transmitted several acts over to the council here, both of grace and supplies, in order to a Parliament to be held in Ireland. This brought Lord Essex again into play, after so much discontent and so little attendance for several months at council: but his eye and heart had ever been bent upon his return to the government of Ireland; which made him

steer all by that compass, and pursue Court or popular humour, as he thought either likeliest to further that end. Whenever the Irish acts came into council, he was sure to be there; first raising twenty difficulties in the particular acts, and arraigning not only the prudence but common sense of the Lord-Lieutenant and council there: then arguing against the assembling a Parliament in that kingdom; and at last introducing Sir James Sheen to make proposals of increasing the King's revenue there near eighty thousand pounds a year, upon a new farm to himself and the company he offered to be joined with him: a farm indeed, as it was drawn up, not of the revenue, but of the crown of Ireland.

This scheme was ever supported by Lord Essex, and ever opposed by me with more sharpness than was usual to me upon any debates; because I had found out the cheat of the whole thing, which Lord Essex had set on foot as a great master-piece of that cunning, which his friends used to say was his talent, and was one for which of all other talents I had ever the greatest aversion. The short of this story was, Lord Essex had a mind to be Lieutenant of Ireland, and to hinder any Parliament being called till he came to the government. He saw himself out at Court; and the hopes of getting in by his interest in Parliament, now delayed by the prorogation longer than he could stay: he projects this farm with Sir James Sheen, and by him offers it to Mr. Hyde, with the advantages mentioned to the King's revenue; but agrees with Sir James, that, if the bait were swallowed, he should, upon the conclusion of all, declare that he and his company were ready to perform all the conditions agreed on; but could not do it unless my Lord Essex might be sent over Lieutenant of

Ireland; without which the condition of that kingdom could never be settled enough for such advantages to the King's service and revenue.

This I knew under secrecy from a confident of Sir James Sheen, who had told himself this whole project, and the paces intended.

Mr. Hyde, who was at the head of all matters concerning the King's revenue, had received this new proposal, and embraced it very warmly; whether prevailed upon by the specious show of so great increases in the revenue, or by some new measures growing between him and Lord Essex in other affairs, I never could determine; but such a patronage at council gave strength to the debates, being little opposed but by Sir Lionel Jenkins and me, who laid the matter so bare, that it drew out into length that whole spring; and the King joined wholly with me in the opinion of the thing, and so far, that when it was come to council or committee, his Majesty sent particularly to me to be there.

In the midst of these agitations, the Duke came over out of Flanders, and resolution was taken for his going into Scotland. I was extremely concerned for the Duke of Ormond, who had fallen into danger of the consequences threatened by these intrigues and pursuits, after the most sensible blow that could be given him, by the death of his * son; and was both of an age and merits to expect no more reverses of fortune, after so many as he had run through in the course of his loyalty. I saw Mr. Hyde violently bent upon Sir James Sheen's imaginary project, and, I doubted, with some pique to the Duke of Ormond, and partiality to Lord Essex. The King seemed to grow weary of so much pursuit; and Lord Sunderland was indiffer-

* The Earl of Ossory.

ent in the thing: so that I resolved to try if I could not engage the Duke to support the Duke of Ormond; and the second time I was with his Highness, after his coming to Court, I fell into this whole business and the consequences of it, and laid open the secret of the thing. The Duke seemed very favourable to Lord Essex, and more indifferent to the Duke of Ormond, than I expected; which made me fall very freely into the character of them both, which the Duke seemed at last to allow with the distinction they deserved, and professed to desire the Duke of Ormond should be continued; though, if he were removed at any time, he still seemed to think Lord Essex the fittest to succeed him. But I found, some days after, by Sir Lionel Jenkins, that his Highness had been very glad to find me so fixed in that business to the Duke of Ormond, and that he would give him what support he could.

Upon the motions of this affair, I grew into more attendance upon his Majesty, and more commerce both with Lord Sunderland and Mr. Hyde; with whom I always lived very well, though we differed so much in opinion upon this Irish business. But continuing still my resolutions of winding myself out of all public business; and to that end talking often to them of my design to make a journey to Florence, both upon occasion of my health and promise; they both proposed to me, if I had a mind to go into a hot country, to go into Spain, and do it with a character from the King, who was likely to have affairs there; rather than make a journey like young gentlemen, only to see the country. I told them how unwilling I was to charge myself again with the ceremonies and fatigue of an embassy; or to run again the hazard I had done so often already, of being undone by those employments: that, if I could resolve on it, I did not see

what affairs the King could have in Spain, whilst he had such as he seemed to have at present in England; nor could I see what use any leagues or measures abroad could be to him, unless some union at home would enable him to support them. This conversation, however, was often renewed between us; and at last, I found out, that to prepare for a good session of Parliament next winter, the Ministers were resolved upon all measures that might conduce towards it during the summer; and, as one of the chief, were resolved to send Ministers to Spain, Denmark, and other of the confederates, and enter with them into the strictest measures for the common defence against the power of France.

I found the Ministers were mighty earnest to engage me in this embassy, as believing my charging myself with it would give a general opinion, both at home and abroad, of our sincerity in the thing. The King spoke to me, and seemed very desirous of my undertaking it. I defended myself a good while, having indeed no opinion the thing had a good root, or that the appearance of it would have the effect hoped for, upon the next meeting of Parliament: but at last I brought it to this point, that I would not charge myself with going to make the intended alliance in Spain; but, if the King should think fit to conclude it here with the Spanish Ambassador upon terms of mutual satisfaction, I would be content to go and cultivate it in Spain. This was done by the Ministers; the King declared me his Ambassador-extraordinary at Madrid; I passed my privy-seal, received my equipage, and spent the latter end of the summer in the preparations for my journey, which were in a manner finished about the middle of September; when the King told me, that since the Parliament drew so near, and so much depended upon it of all that concerned him either abroad or at home, he was resolved to have

me stay at least the opening of it, by which we should judge of the further progress.

From what seeds the discontents and violent proceedings of this last session grew, I have told already; but by what motions and degrees they came to such a height is another story, and may have had some roots which I did not discover; but what I observed was this. After the Duke's return into Flanders, he had the King's leave to come over again in some months. The Duke of Monmouth came back out of Holland without leave, and so came not to Court; and thereby seemed to make himself the head of those that were discontented, either with the Duke's return, or the intermission of Parliament. In acting this part he was guided by Lord Shaftesbury, who resolved to blow up the fire as high as he could this summer; so as to make the necessity the greater of the Parliament sitting at the time appointed. And, because boldness looks like strength, to encourage his party with an opinion of both, he engaged several Lords, and among them Lord Russel, to go with him to Westminster-Hall publicly, and there, at the King's Bench, to present the Duke as a recusant. Though the matter had no consequences in the forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the minds of the people, and a strong one upon the passions of all those persons that were so publicly engaged in this bold pace against the Duke, which was breaking all measures with him, and entering into the desperate resolution of either ruining his Highness or themselves: and I found it had a great effect upon the small circle of my acquaintance or observation.

Lord Essex, who had pursued his return to the government of Ireland by engines at Court for six months past, began to let all that business of Sir James Sheen cool, and to reckon upon laying a

surer foundation for that design, from the credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this he began to fall into new commerce with Lord Shaftesbury, who told him in these shameless words, "My Lord, if you will come in to us, never trouble yourself, we will make you Lieutenant of Ireland." The way to this return was to oppose the Duke's stay here upon the several passages he made, but chiefly upon that before the session of Parliament. Lord Hallifax, though he fell not in with Lord Shaftesbury, yet was glad to make fair weather against the Parliament met, by his oppositions to the Duke. Lord Sunderland was struck with the boldness of the Lords presentment in Westminster-Hall, and the consequence of such men being so desperately engaged in an attempt wherein they were like to be seconded by the humour of the nation, upon the alarms of popery; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to support the Duke any longer, but would be forced to separate his interests from him at last: and he believed the King himself was of the same mind. Mr. Godolphin fell into the same thoughts with Lord Sunderland, both of the thing itself, and of the King's mind in it: so as upon the debate in council, concerning the Duke's stay or going back into Scotland before the Parliament met, these four joined absolutely in the reasons and advices for his going away; and though the rest of the council were generally of the contrary opinion, yet the King fell in with these four, and concluded the thing, against the Duke's will and his friends, as I have been told: for during all these transactions I was in the country, with my thoughts and preparations wholly turned upon my Spanish embassy; and I was the willinger to be there, upon the resolution I had long been fixed in, never to enter

into any differences or personal matters between the King and his brother.

The Duke went away, and the Parliament began, with the general knowledge of so many great persons having appeared so publicly against his Highness in Westminster-Hall, and so considerable ones in the Court itself, and at the council-table: those of the first gang fell immediately into the cabals of Lords and Commons who framed the Bill of Exclusion; wherein they were desperately engaged, not only, as they professed, upon opinion of national ends, but likewise upon that of self-preservation, having broken irreparably all measures already with the Duke: the generality of the House of Commons were carried, partly with the plausibleness of the thing, calculated in appearance only against popery, without any private ends as was pretended; and partly with the opinion of the King's resolution to fall into it, upon the observation of such Lords of the Court having engaged so far in sending away the Duke. All the Duke of Monmouth's friends drove it on violently; not doubting he would lie in the Duke's place, though n provision seemed to be made for that in the forms of the draught: and all these circumstances concurring, made so violent a torrent for carrying on this bill, as nothing could resist, or any ways divert; and as it happens upon all occasions, the small opposition, made by two or three men, made the violence the greater.

Besides these general circumstances, there were two more particular and personal, that seemed to me to have great influence upon the House: one was Lord Russel setting himself, almost with affectation, at the head of this affair; who was a person in general repute of an honest worthy gentleman, without tricks or private ambition, and who

was known to venture as great a stake perhaps as any subject of England. The other was Sir William Jones entering upon it so abruptly and so desperately as he did, if I mistake not, the first day he came into the House (at least I have been told so, for I was not there), which was some time after the session began, having been engaged in a disputed election. And this person having the name of the greatest lawyer of England, and commonly of a very wise man; besides this, of a very rich, and of a wary or rather timorous nature; made people generally conclude that the thing was certain and safe, and would at last be agreed on all parts, whatever countenance were made at Court.

The bill passed the House of Commons, and was carried up by Lord Russel to the House of Lords; as I think, for I was not there at the House. But, in the House of Lords, it met with another kind of reception. The King was resolved, and declared against the bill: and though Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Essex, and, as I remember, about fifteen more, were violently for it; yet the rest of the House were firm and positive against it; among whom Lord Hallifax appeared most in the head of all debates; and so it was, after long contest, absolutely thrown out. This enraged the House of Commons; and, having failed of the only thing they seemed to have at heart, made them fall upon persons; engage first in the pursuit of Lord Stafford to the block, upon the score of the plot; and then in addresses, either upon general discontents in the public affairs, or upon common fame against particular men.

During the whole proceedings of this session of Parliament, I played a part very impertinent for a man that had any designs or ambitions about him; but for me who had none (and whose head was fixed either upon my embassy into Spain, or upon my absolute retirement) the only one wherein I could

have satisfied myself. As I never entered into public business by my own choice or pursuit, but always called into it by the King or his Ministers; so I never made the common use of it, by ever asking either money, lands, or honour of his Majesty; though I have been often enough urged to it by my friends, and invited by so great degrees of confidence and favour, as I have stood in with his Majesty both often and long. I never had my heart set upon any thing in public affairs, but the happiness of my country, and greatness of the Crown: and, in order to that, the union of both, by which alone, I thought both could be atchieved. When I fell first into despair of this, I fell first into a distaste of all public affairs; which has been nourished by a course of such accidents and turns of Court, and personal inconstancies or infidelities, as I have related. By what means I came to be so long engaged, as to see this session of Parliament, I have told; but it is not to be told, the vexation and trouble which the course of it gave me. I knew very well, that all the safety of Flanders and Holland depended upon the union of his Majesty with his Parliament, which might enable him to make such a figure in Christendom, as the Crown of England has done, and ought always to do. The Dutch had sent over Monsieur Van Lewen to make both Court and country sensible of this necessity that Christendom was in; and how much all would lie at the mercy of France, from the day they saw the hopes of it fail. The House of Commons met, with such a bent upon what they thought the chief of their home concerns, that the name of any thing foreign would not be allowed among them; nay, the mention of Spanish leagues, alliances with Holland, and measures intended by the King with other confederates, were laughed at, as Court-tricks, and too stale to pass any more.

They fell downright upon a point invincible, which was the Bill of Exclusion; and in default of that, upon heats against the government and the Ministers, not without some glancing at the King. This was returned with heats at Court by those Ministers that were chiefly touched; which were Lord Hallifax, who, by a sudden turn, whereof I know no account, had at the beginning of the session fallen into the open defence of the Duke's interests; and Mr. Hyde, who, by his relation to the Duke, and by his education wholly at Court, was ever reckoned upon, as well as found to be, first in that point. Though I did not find by them, that they thought it would be to much purpose; only they promised to agree with the King upon the draught of some expedients in the case, which Lord Hallifax had charged himself with, and should be charged with to the House of Lords, during the heats of the Commons.

For my own part, so soon as I saw the bent of the House of Commons, the violence with which it was carried, and the distractions it was like to engage the kingdom in, at a time they were so little in season; I gave over first all hopes, and then all thoughts upon so unpleasant a theme. In the business of the bill I never meddled, nor so much as reasoned either in or out of the House; having declared my opinion to the King and his Ministers, that it was to no purpose to oppose it there; nor for the King to take notice of the Commons address upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any bills, or any addresses upon things of that nature, were brought to him from both Houses, he would answer them. By this means I thought the King was sure of his end; for the bill would certainly fall as often as it came into the House of Lords; and, if he should be forced to break the Parliament, it would be better done upon invinci-

ble difference between the two Houses, than upon any between his Majesty and the House of Commons. But this opinion was not agreed to by the chief Ministers. After that, I pressed both the King and them to bring such expedients as they told me were resolved on; that so we might make all the strength we could to support them in the House of Commons, and thereby reduce things to some temper; but these, though daily talked of, never appeared. I went not often, either to the House or Council; but when I did, and thought it to any purpose, I endeavoured to allay the heats on either side; and told the King I expected to be turned out of the House in the morning, and out of the Council in the afternoon. Mr. Hyde asked me one day in the council-chamber, why I came so seldom to the House or Council; I told him, it was upon Solomon's advice, neither to oppose the mighty, nor go about to stop the current of a river: upon which he said, I was a wise and a quiet man; and, if it were not for some circumstances he could not help, he would do so too.

I do not remember to have spoken in the House, but upon the motion of supplies for Tangier*; upon the digestion of the first address about general grievances; and in the cases of my Lord Chief Justice North, and my Lord Hallifax being impeached upon common fame: nor at any general councils, unless it were upon the House of Commons address against Lord Hallifax, and upon a debate about dissolving the Parliament; wherein I desired the King and Council never to lay aside the thoughts and endeavours of agreeing either with this or some other Parliament, as a matter of so great necessity to the state of his Majesty's affairs both abroad and at home. Lord Hallifax answered me in few words,

* See the Appendix.

that every body was sensible of the necessity of the King's agreeing with his Parliaments, though not with this: and * Mr. Seymour told me, he perfectly agreed with me in what I had said. The last thing I did, in House or Council, was to carry the King's last answer to the Commons, containing his resolutions never to consent to the exclusion of the Duke†; which Secretary Jenkins had been charged with the night before at council: but he was thought too unacceptable to the House, it seems, for a message that was like to prove so; and next morning the King would have had Sir Robert Carr or Mr. Godolphin have carried it, but they both excused themselves; upon which the King sent for me.

I told his Majesty, I did not very well understand why a thing, agreed upon last night at council-table, should be altered in his chamber; but that I was very willing however to obey him, and the rather upon others having excused themselves, and to shew his Majesty that I intended to play no popular games: upon which I took the paper, and told the King that I was very sensible how much of his confidence I formerly had, and how much I had lost, without knowing the occasion; or else I might have had part in the consulting this change of what was last night resolved, as well as in executing it; and I would confess to his Majesty, that I had not so good a stomach in business, as to be content only with swallowing what other people had chewed. Upon which I went away, and carried my message to the House, which was received just as was expected. I tell this passage freely, as I do all the rest; as the only thing I could imagine the King could ever take ill of me; and yet I know

* Afterwards Sir E. Seymour. † See the Appendix.

not how it could be a fault, more than in a point of manners neither, or the homeliness of expression.

That which completed my resolution of recess from all public business, was to find, as I thought, very plainly, that both parties, who could agree in nothing else, yet did it in this one point, of bringing things to the last extremity. Lord Shaftesbury and his party thought the points of popular discontents and petitions, or at least that of the King's wants, would at last bring the Court to their mercy in one Parliament or other. Those Ministers, who were past all measures with the House of Commons, thought there was no way, but by their heats, to bring the King to a dislike, and thereby to a disuse of Parliaments. And by this likewise the Duke's interest seemed at present only to be secured. So that, where both parties consented in dividing to extremity on each side, no man could think any longer of uniting; nor consequently to see the Crown in such a posture as I had ever wished it, and for our neighbours sakes as well as our own.

I found this yet more evident at the last debates, during my assistance at the foreign committee, concerning the answer his Majesty should return to the repeated addresses of the House of Commons, relating to the Bill of Exclusion. I was of opinion it should be, that, when both Houses agreed upon an address to this purpose, he would give them an answer; but till then would suspend it, and not send a positive answer to one House upon so weighty an occasion, which, for aught he knew, might be contrary to the sense of the other. By this means he would be secure from the necessity of any direct breach with the Commons; since he knew well enough, the Lords would not consent to the address. And, if the Parliament came to be dissolved, it were better for the King it should break

upon differences between the two Houses, than between his Majesty and them. For this would give the nation an opinion, that he was resolved to live without Parliaments hereafter; which might endanger perhaps our peace at home, but would however ruin the hopes of our neighbours abroad, who had no other of defending themselves against France, but by the power of England: that, if this Parliament broke upon disputes or differences between the two Houses, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a third, and agree with some of them, by which alone he could be great and safe both at home and abroad. For it was between the King and his Parliament, as between the mountain and Mahomet, who told the people what miracles he would do when he was at the top of the mountain; and to that purpose he would on such a day call it to him; he did so, but the mountain would not come; whereupon he said, that, if the mountain would not come to Mahomet, he would go to the mountain; for unless they both met, no wonders could be done. The King seemed pleased with all I said, and with the comparison; but those of the committee, that were chief in the private measures taken at this time, were for a positive answer to be given the House of Commons, let them take it how they pleased; and accordingly this was resolved.

However, all these considerations or interests could not move the King to dissolve this Parliament, without calling another at the same time to meet at Oxford in the spring. Whereupon, the heads of the university at Cambridge sent to me, to know whether I intended to stand again for that election: I went to the King to acquaint him with it, and know his pleasure what answer I should return them: he seemed at first indifferent, and bid me do what I would: but when I said I was very

indifferent too, and would do in it what his Majesty liked best; he said, in a manner kind and familiar, that, considering how things stood at this time, he doubted my coming into the House would not be able to do much good; and therefore he thought it as well for me to let it alone; which I said I would do.

When I left the King I went to my Lord Sunderland, and told him what had passed; who took this as the first certain sign of his Majesty's having fixed his resolution, and left off all thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his measures another way, for the supply of his treasures in the ill condition they were in. He knew very well, that, during the last session, the King had always told me, that he was resolved to propose some expedients to the Houses, upon which he had hopes they might agree: that he had ordered Lord Hallifax to draw them up, and had bid me reserve my credit in the House for that occasion: and that, if there were any thoughts of agreeing with the next Parliament, the King, he was sure, would have been glad to have had me in the House. He said upon it, in some passion, that he now gave all for gone, and that he must confess I knew the King better than he had done; and so we parted.

Within few days, employed wholly in my domestic concerns, and in order to the remove I intended, I left the town and went to Sheen: from whence I sent the King word by my son, that I would pass the rest of my life like as good a subject as any he had; but that I would never meddle any more with any public affairs; and desired his Majesty would not be displeased with this resolution. The King very graciously bid him tell me, that he was not angry with me, no not at all.

I had not been above a week at Sheen, when my Lady Northumberland (who lived then at Sion),

came to my closet one morning, and told me, that, the day before, my Lord Sunderland, my Lord Essex's names, and mine, were struck out of the council; which was the first word I heard of any such thing; and upon which I neither made any reflections nor enquiries; though many others seemed much to wonder, and enquired of me what could be the reason of my being joined with the other two Lords, whose proceedings had been very different.

My Lord Sunderland was, during the late session of Parliament, fallen under a great displeasure of his Majesty; and into an outrageous quarrel with Lord Hallifax. The last happened, not only upon their dividing in the businesses of the Parliament and council, but likewise upon Lord Sunderland's entering into new commerce and measures with Lord Shaftesbury; as my Lord Hallifax told me, and which I should not have otherwise known; for, if there were any such commerce, Lord Sunderland had made it a secret to me; as knowing too well the aversion I always had for that Lord, and the whole course of his proceedings in all public affairs. But Lord Sunderland told me another reason of the quarrel between him and Lord Hallifax; which, he said, broke out the same night a debate arose at council concerning an address of the House of Commons against Lord Hallifax, wherein Lord Sunderland had been of opinion, the King should not yield to it. But, after council, Lord Hallifax went to Lord Sunderland's lodgings, where they fell into discourse of what had passed; and Lord Sunderland told him, that though he had given his opinion at council as he thought became him; yet, if such an address should ever be made against himself, he would certainly desire leave of the King to retire, as a thing that would be for his service. Upon this Lord Hallifax fell into such a passion, that he went out of the room, and from that time

tions, more than any of the rest: but upon several representations of his family, his abilities, his estate and credit, as well as talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he was spited at, I thought his Majesty had been contented with it: but, at this meeting, he raised new difficulties upon it, and appeared a great while invincible in them, though we all joined in the defence of it: and at last, I told the King, we would fall upon our knees to gain a point that we all thought necessary for his service: and then his Majesty consented.

The other was concerning Lord Shaftesbury, who had never been mentioned in our first debates; and the King either had not thought of him before upon this affair, or had not mentioned him to me, as knowing, upon all occasions of private discourse with his Majesty, what opinion I had of that Lord. But after my Lord Hallifax had passed, the King said there was another, who, if he were left out, might do as much mischief as any, and named Lord Shaftesbury; to which the other three agreed: and concluded further, that he would never be content with a counsellor's place among thirty; and therefore it was proposed to add one to the number, by making a president, which should be he. I disputed this point, from the first mention, to the last conclusion of it, foretelling he would destroy all the good that we expected from the whole constitution: and said all that I could with so much earnestness, that when, by his Majesty's agreeing with the other three, I saw it would be concluded, I walked away to the other end of the room, not knowing well whether I should have gone out or not, if the door had been open; but turning again, I desired his Majesty to remember, that I had no part in Lord Shaftesbury's coming into his council or his affairs; that his Majesty and the other three Lords had resolved it without me; and that I was still absolutely

against it. The King laughed, and turned my anger into a jest; and so went on with the rest of the constitution intended, till the whole was resolved and executed publicly in Easter 1679*.

The night before the thing was to be done, his Majesty thought fit to tell it the Duke of Monmouth; having kept it secret till then, further than to the four already named. But as soon as the Duke of Monmouth knew, though only in general, that the council should be changed, he told it so many, that it was the common talk next morning; which we interpreted either lightness or vanity, to have it thought, that he had part in an affair likely to pass so well. And indeed, when the thing was done in the forms that are known, it was received with general applause in the country, with bonfires in the city, and the same in Ireland: in Holland, the actions of the East-India Company rose upon it immediately, and very much; and the States designed one of their best and most considerable men, Monsieur Van Lewen, to come over Minister into England upon this occasion. France alone was unsatisfied with it, and Monsieur Barillon said it was making *des Etats* [States] and not *des conseils* [councils]; but the reasons were easy to see, and so not much considered.

The House of Commons received it with most coldness, where the contrary was most expected: and the pretending knowers among them, who were not of the council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new revelations, to doubt it might be a new Court-juggle, and to refer it to time to tell what it was in truth; in the mean while to suspend their judgments.

This was the first effect of my Lord Shaftesbury's good meaning to the King and his affairs, into which

* See the Appendix.

he was entered, but not with the personal or transcendent credit he aimed at with his Majesty, and which he thought those who had been authors of this new constitution had the greatest share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the Duke of Monmouth, and use all their endeavours to raise such discontents and heats in the Houses, upon the apprehensions of popery, and propositions to prevent it, that the King found himself soon upon as uneasy terms with this Session of Parliament, as he had been with the last; the humours being engaged by my Lord Shaftesbury's pretending among his patriots, that the Duke of Monmouth had so much credit with the King, that his Majesty desired but a good occasion of consenting to all the Parliament should insist on, which would be given him by their heat and obstinacy, in so popular a point as that against popery: and if that were once gained, the Duke of Monmouth and he should be able to steer all the rest, to the satisfaction of those who called themselves the good or the honest party.

Such a mischief could never have grown, if Lord Shaftesbury had not worked himself up into credit, both in Parliament and city, by the appearance of having it with the King, and in the council where he was president; and by the infusions given of his having or growing yet into greater by a more secret spring, which was the interest of the Duke of Monmouth, and the kindness of his Majesty increasing, as appeared since the Duke's absence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new constitution, Lord Shaftesbury had been left out, as a person marked by his Majesty, and never to enter more into his affairs or confidence; which the whole course of his life, from his very first entrance upon public stages, if examined never so strictly, would have given good

ground for. But this fate, as I could not prevent by all my endeavours, so I had foretold it his Majesty the year before: when, upon my coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent expressions that could be against him; I told his Majesty, that, with his good leave, I would hold any wager, I should yet see that Lord again in his business; and when the King asked me what made me think so, I said, because I knew he was restless while he was out, and would try every door to get in; had wit and industry to find out the ways; and, when money would work, had as much as any body to bestow, and skill enough to know where to place it.

This turn in the King's affairs, upon this new constitution, gave me so great a vexation, and so ill a prospect, that, having delayed the time prescribed for every man's receiving the sacrament according to law, after his entrance into public employment, till it was very near expired; I once resolved, by that omission, to make myself absolutely incapable of bearing any for the future; and was not persuaded to lay aside that thought till after long debates upon it with my wife and sister here at Sheen: but that matter passed in form, and I continued barely of the council, with a resolution of not entering upon the Secretary's office, though often and earnestly urged to it by Lord Sunderland, with others of my friends.

Upon the new constitution of the council, my Lord Sunderland had, by Mr. Sidney, desired that we two might join together in perfect confidence, and distinct from any others in the course of the King's affairs, whether I would enter into the other Secretary's office, or no; which I said I was very willing to embrace, though I knew no need of it, considering how much the general affairs were devolved upon the council, or the particular commit-

tees, and how much I thought it was fit that they should continue so, without running into any private channels. This confidence had not run on above a fortnight, when my Lord Sunderland asked me, if I were willing my Lord Essex should be received into it; which I consented to, though with intimation to Lord Sunderland of the opinion I had (for some time of late) of Lord Essex, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met, for a while, once a day by turns, at each of our houses, and consulted upon the chief affairs that were then on the anvil, and how they might be best prepared for the Parliament or the Council: but matters growing very untoward, by the practices of Lord Shaftesbury, with the Duke of Monmouth's cover at least, and upon the ill humour of the House of Commons about the business of religion; and my Lord Hallifax appearing unsatisfied, by observing where the King's confidence was; I proposed to my Lords Sunderland and Essex, to receive him into all our consultations; which I thought would both enter him into credit with the King, and give us more ease in the course of his affairs. Lord Essex received this overture with his usual dryness; Lord Sunderland opposed it a good deal, and told me, I should not find Lord Hallifax the person I took him for, but one that could draw with nobody, and still climbing up to the top himself. However, I continued resolute in pressing it; and so at length the thing was concluded, and we fell all four together into the usual meetings and consultations.

The chief matters that lay before the King at that time were, first, the satisfaction of his people by falling into some measures with the Parliament that might enable him to look abroad in such a figure as became the Crown of England, and was necessary for preventing the common fears of a new invasion

of France upon Flanders or Holland, which looked very desperate without some strong and resolute protection from England.

The second was a resolution to be taken in answer to the instances made by Monsieur Van Lewen from the States, about a new guaranty to be given upon the late general peace by his Majesty, particularly to Spain in the business of Flanders.

The third was the giving some ease to Scotland, where the humours began to swell about this time; and which we conceived could be no way done so easily, as by removal of the Duke of Lauderdale; a man too much hated both here and there, to be fit for the temper his Majesty seemed resolved to use in his affairs.

For this last, we could not upon any terms obtain it of the King, by all the arguments used (both jointly and severally) by us all four; the King's defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew Scotland so well as his Majesty himself.

For the second, we easily agreed upon the measures that seemed necessary for the satisfaction of the States, and the safety of Flanders; being all four of the committee, where all the foreign affairs were consulted; and taking the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury into the first digestion of this treaty with Holland, at a meeting for that purpose, at my Lord Hallifax's house; which was the only time I ever had any thing to do, or so much as talk, with my Lord Shaftesbury, further than the council chamber.

For the first thing, which was the most important, we found it more perplexed than we could imagine. Both Houses of Parliament seemed to have no eyes, but for the dangers of popery upon the Duke's succession to the Crown; which humour was blown up by all the arts and intrigues of

the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury. The King seemed willing to secure them all that could be against those fears, without changing the laws in point of succession. * The House of Commons were busy in finding out expedients to secure this point, but could agree on none; being still diverted from fixing on any by Lord Saftesbury's practices. The council fell upon the same scent with great earnestness and endeavour; and, after much hammering, agreed upon many heads to be offered the Parliament, which are commonly enough known.

These expedients were agreed to by all the council, except my Lord Shaftesbury and me; who were against them, upon very different grounds. Mine were two; first, because I believed, that nothing that came first from the King upon these points would be accepted by the Commons; who, if they would be satisfied at all, I thought should first agree upon what, and leave it to the King to take or refuse. The second was, that as I did not see any certain ease these expedients would give the King, though agreed to by the Houses; so it was evident to all men, that they would leave the Crown after him in shackles, which, put on upon the Duke's occasion, and in his time, would not be easily knocked off by any successor. My Lord Shaftesbury's ground was plain, and so expressed by him upon all occasions; which was, that there could be no security against the Duke, if once in possession of the Crown; and this being well infused by his and the Duke of Monmouth's friends into the House of Commons, occasioned their sullen rejecting all the expedients offered them by the King, and laid the foundation for the proceedings of the late

* See the Appendix.

House of Commons, and the strange disorders wherein they have left affairs at home, and thereby the desperate condition of affairs abroad.

During all these transactions the three Lords and I continued our constant meetings and consultations; and with so much union, and so disinterested endeavours for the general good of his Majesty's service and the kingdom's, that I could not but say to them, at the end of one of our meetings, that we four were either the four honestest men in England, or the greatest knaves; for we made one another at least believe, that we were the honestest men in the world.

But this conjunction held not long: for, after the Houses rejecting the expedients offered by the King and Council, my Lord Shaftesbury finding himself neither in confidence with the King, nor credit in the Council, turned all his practices and hopes to the House of Commons, and inflamed them to that degree, as made the three Lords of my commerce begin to grow uneasy, and to cast about which way they might lay this storm. At length my Lord Sunderland told me that Lord Essex and Lord Hallifax were of opinion, that it was necessary to take in the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury into the first digestion of affairs, considering the influence they had upon the House; and for this end to agree with them in the banishment of the Duke, either for a certain term, or during the King's life; and desired to know whether I would fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord Sunderland positively I would not: for, first, I would never have any thing to do with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury; and next, I would never enter into matters of difference between the King and his brother; having upon several occasions told them both, that I would ever do all I

could towards the union of the whole royal family; but never would have any thing to do in the divisions of it; and no man should ever reproach me with breaking my word, and much less the King or the Duke.

This was peremptory, and so it ended; and thereupon the three Lords fell into meetings and consultations with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury, which I knew nothing of, and began to come less to council, and to meet no more with my usual company, but upon occasion, and without the first confidence; but we still continued our kindness wherever we met, without my enquiring, or they communicating, what passed in their new consultations.

But this lasted not long neither; for, within a fortnight or little more, they began to find the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the House of Commons to endeavour bringing the King into necessities of yielding all points to them, and thereby leaving the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury absolutely at the head of all affairs; so that the three Lords began to make their complaints of it, and to fall upon the thoughts of proroguing the Parliament, as the only remedy left in the present distemper. I agreed with them in this overture, and the rather, because I foresaw it would absolutely break the three Lords from all commerce with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury: and so we agreed to propose it to his Majesty, and that it should be debated and resolved at council; where the chief officers depending upon the King being one half of the council, and joining with others of us that were of his more indifferent choice, we concluded the resolution could not fail to be taken by the majority of the council; if the reasons and necessity of it should not pre-

vail with some of those who seemed most in my Lord Shaftesbury's confidence, to leave him upon this occasion. And in this resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again two days after for the fixing it with his Majesty, upon my engaging to go for so long down into the country, where I staid my two days, and came up the third morning early.

Upon my arrival, I found my Lord Sunderland had called or sent several times to my house the night before, and left word that he must needs speak with me as soon as I came to town. I sent immediately to Whitehall, but found his Lordship was gone already with the King to the House of Lords; whereupon I went to Lord Essex, who was nearest me, and asked whether any thing new had happened. He told me that the King had found out there were remonstrances ready prepared in the House of Commons, to inflame the city and nation upon the points of plot and popery; and that their three Lordships having upon it consulted with his Majesty, he had resolved the Parliament should be prorogued that morning, upon the King's coming to the House, and that it could not be allowed time or vent by a debate of council; which, for my part, I thought an ill omission, and that it ought to have the authority of the King with advice of his council, according to the usual forms: but it passed otherwise, and with very great resentment of both Houses; and such rage of my Lord Shaftesbury, that he said upon it aloud in the House, that he would have the heads of those who were the advisers of this prorogation.

During this session of Parliament, I had several notices given me of a practice set on foot in the House of Commons for impeaching me as one that had been an instrument of making the general peace; and this was urged by stories, of being a man of arbitrary principles, and one that had writ-

ten several things, though without name, against the constitution of Parliaments, and in favour of popery: and this went so far, that * Mr. Mountague went a great way from man to man in the House, to know whether, if such an accusation were brought in, they would be against me. Several went into it upon hatred to the late Treasurer, whose friend they took me to be, and upon envy at my being designed for Secretary of State; but yet in no such numbers that Mr. Mountague could hope to make any thing of it: and when some of my friends acquainted me with it, I only desired them to obtain leave of the House, that I might hear my accusation at the bar of the House, and assured them that I should be glad to have that occasion of telling there both Mr. Mountague's story and my own. This fell; but upon the knowledge of these practices, my Lord Sunderland and Mr. † Sydney, who thought that a man, who had such a part in the King's affairs, ought to stand as well as he could with the House of Commons, pressed me to suffer several small things I had formerly written, and of which copies had run, to be then printed, as they were, under the title of *Miscellanea.* They thought, by that publication, men would see I was not a man of the dangerous principles pretended; and I might assure the world of being author of no books that had not my name. The thing seemed to pass well enough; only Lord Hallifax, commending them to me in general, told me as a friend, that I should take heed of carrying too far that principle of paternal dominion (which was deduced in the essay *Of Government*), for fear of destroying the rights of the people. So tender was every body of those points at that time.

* Afterwards Duke of Mountague.

† Afterwards Earl of Rumney.

The three Lords and I went on unanimous in our consultations; considering how to make way for a calmer and better-tempered session of Parliament, after the short prorogation which had been made. To which purpose we again endeavoured the removal of the Duke of Lauderdale, or at least the admission of other Nobles of Scotland into those affairs. We concluded the measures with Holland in all points, to the satisfaction of their Ambassador; and thought of such acts of council, as might express his Majesty's care for suppressing popery even in the intervals of Parliament. We only disagreed in one point, which was the leaving some priests to the law upon the accusation of being priests only, as the House of Commons had desired; which I thought wholly unjust, without giving them public warning by proclamation to be gone, or expect the penalties of law within such a time; since the connivances had lasted now through three Kings reigns: upon this point Lord Hallifax and I had so sharp a debate at Lord Sunderland's lodgings, that he told me, if I would not concur in points which were so necessary for the people's satisfaction, he would tell every body I was a papist: and upon his affirming that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it were so or no, in those points that were so generally believed by city or country as well as both Houses; I replied, with some heat, that the plot was a matter long on foot before I came over into England; that to understand it, one must have been here to observe all the motions of it; which not having done, I would have nothing to do with it: in other things I was content to join with them, where they thought I could be of use to the King's service; and where they thought there was none, I was very willing to be excused; and very glad

THE

PREFACE.

IT was perfectly in compliance to some persons, for whose opinion I have great deference, that I so long withheld the publication of the following papers. They seemed to think, that the freedom of passages in these Memoirs might give offence to several who were still alive; and whose part in those affairs, which are here related, could not be transmitted to posterity with any advantage to their reputation. But, whether this objection be in itself of much weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least it should have little with me, who am under no restraint in that particular; since I am not of an age to remember those transactions, nor had any acquaintance with those persons whose counsels or proceedings are condemned, and who are all of them now dead.

But, as this author is very free in exposing the weakness and corruptions of ill Ministers, so he is as ready to commend the abilities and virtue of others, as may be observed from several passages of these Memoirs; particularly, of the late Earl of Sunderland, with whom the author continued in the most intimate friendship to his death; and who was father of that most learned and excellent Lord, now Secretary of State; as likewise, of the present Earl of Rochester; and the Earl of Godolphin, now Lord Treasurer, represented by this impartial author as a person at that time deservedly intrusted with so great a part in the Prime Ministry; an

office he now executes again with such universal applause, so much to the Queen's honour and his own, and to the advantage of his country, as well as of the whole confederacy.

There are two objections I have sometimes heard to have been offered against those Memoirs that were printed in the Author's life-time, and which these now published may, perhaps, be equally liable to. First, as to the matter; that the author speaks too much of himself: next, as to the style; that he affects the use of French words, as well as some turns of expression peculiar to that language.

I believe, those who make the former criticism, do not well consider the nature of Memoirs. It is to the French (if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner of writing; and Sir William Temple is not only the first, but, I think, the only Englishman (at least of any consequence) who ever attempted it. The best French memoirs are writ by such persons as were the principal actors in those transactions they pretend to relate, whether of wars or negotiations. Those of Sir William Temple are of the same nature; and therefore, in my judgment, the publisher (who sent them into the world without the Author's privity), gave them a wrong title, when he called them Memoirs of what passed in Christendom, &c. whereas it should rather have been, Memoirs of the treaty at Nimeguen, which was plainly the sense of the Author, who in the Epistle tells his son, that, in compliance with his desire, he will leave him some Memoirs of what passed in his public employments abroad: and in the book itself, when he deduces an account of the state of war in Christendom, he says it is only to prepare the reader for a relation of that famous treaty; where he and Sir Lionel Jenkins were the only mediators that continued any considerable time; and as the Author was first in commission,

so in point of abilities or credit, either abroad or at home, there was no sort of comparison between the two persons. Those Memoirs therefore are properly a relation of a general treaty of peace, wherein the Author had the principal, as well as the most honourable part, in quality of mediator; so that the frequent mention of himself seems not only excusable but necessary. The same may be offered in defence of the following papers, because, during the greatest part of the period they treat of, the Author was in chief confidence with the King, his Master. To which it may be added, that, in the few preliminary lines at the head of the first page, the Author professes he writ those papers for the satisfaction of his friends hereafter, upon the grounds of his retirement, and his resolution never to meddle again with public affairs.

As to the objection against the style of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French words and turns of expression; it is to be considered, that, at the treaty of Nimeguen, all business, either by writing or discourse, passed in the French tongue; and the Author having lived so many years abroad in that and former embassies, where all business, as well as conversation, ran in that language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon public affairs without some tincture of it in his style; though in his other writings, there be little or nothing of it to be observed; and, as he has often assured me, it was a thing he never affected; so, upon the objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out some French words in these, and placed English in their stead, though perhaps not so significant.

There is one thing proper to inform the reader, why these Memoirs are called the Third Part, there having never been published but one part before, where, in the beginning, the Author mentions a

former part, and in the conclusion promises a third. The subject of the first part was chiefly the triple alliance, during the negotiation of which my Lord Arlington was Secretary of State and chief Minister: Sir William Temple often assured me, he had burnt those Memoirs; and for that reason was content his Letters, during his embassies at the Hague and Aix la Chapelle, should be printed after his death; in some manner to supply that loss.

What it was that moved Sir William Temple to burn those first Memoirs, may perhaps be conjectured from some passages in the second part, formerly printed: in one place the Author has these words, "My Lord Arlington, who made so great a figure in the former part of these Memoirs, was now grown out of all credit," &c. In other parts he tells us that Lord was of the Ministry which broke the triple league; advised the Dutch war and French alliance; and, in short, was at the bottom of all those ruinous measures which the Court of England was then taking; so that, as I have been told from a good hand, and as it seems very probable, he could not think that Lord a person fit to be celebrated for his part in forwarding that famous league while he was Secretary of State, who had made such counterpaces to destroy it. At the end I have subjoined an Appendix, containing, besides one or two other particulars, a Speech of Sir William Temple's in the House of Commons, and an Answer of the King's to an Address of that House, relating to the Bill of Exclusion, both which are mentioned in these Memoirs.

I have only farther to inform the reader, that although these papers were corrected by the Author, yet he had once intended to insert some additions in several places, as appeared by certain hints or memorandums in the margin; but whether they were omitted out of forgetfulness, neglect, or want

of health, I cannot determine: one passage relating to Sir William Jones he was pleased to tell me, and I have added it in the Appendix. The rest I know nothing of; but the thread of the story is entire without them.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

Jenkins's coming over in my room; so that I prepared for a short return to Nimeguen; when most unexpectedly came a yacht to Rotterdam, with letters from my Lord Treasurer, and from the Earl of Sunderland, who had newly succeeded Sir Joseph Williamson. And, in both those dispatches, there was a positive command from the King, for my immediate repair into England, in order to my entering upon the Secretary's office.

The King writ the same thing at the same time to the Prince, and gave him leave to acquaint the States with it, which he did, as a thing he thought they would be pleased with (as he was himself, and indeed all my friends): though while I was forced to stay at the Hague, about a fortnight before my embarking, they all found me in very different thoughts, both upon my discourses and my letters: insomuch that the Prince told me, he looked upon it as a piece of predestination, that I should be Secretary of State at last, in spite of all I had done so long to avoid it.

Upon my arrival in England, I met with the most surprising scene that ever was: the Long Parliament dissolved, and the resolution taken for the Duke's going into Holland, and that he was to part next day: so that I had only one occasion of speaking to him; when he told me with great freedom the paces that had been made towards that resolution, much against his own opinion, and bid me remember what he foretold me, that however this was thought likely to stop the violent humour then raised by the plot, yet I should see it would go on next to my Lord Treasurer's ruin, though he did not expect it.

When the Duke was gone, and the King had told me, with the greatest kindness that could be, of his resolution to have me Secretary; and that I had no reason to take it well, because he knew

not one man besides in England that was fit for it upon Mr. Coventry's removal: and on the other side, my friends had told me, they had the money ready for me to lay down, which was five thousand pounds; I began to consider the ground, and the journey, and my own strength to go through with it. I found nothing so necessary for his Majesty's affairs abroad, and those of Christendom, as great union at home; which might enable him to make such a figure as the preservation of his allies required; and indeed the general interest of Christendom; which seemed to depend wholly upon his Majesty's measures. On the other side, I never saw greater disturbance in men's minds at home, than had been raised by the plot, and the pursuit of it in the Parliament; and observed, that though it was generally believed by both Houses, by city and country, by clergy and laity; yet when I talked with some of my friends in private, who ought best to know the bottom of it, they only concluded that it was yet mysterious; that they could not say the King believed it; but, however, that the Parliament and nation were so generally and strongly possessed with it, that it must of necessity be pursued as if it were true, whether it was so or no: and that, without the King's uniting with his people upon this point, he would never grow either into ease at home, or consideration abroad.

Upon three days thought of this whole affair, I concluded it a scene unfit for such actors as I knew myself to be; and resolved to avoid the Secretary's place, or any other public employment at home, my character abroad still continuing. This I acquainted my nearest friends with; ordered the money to be returned, which had been provided by them; and fell into the consultations how I might get off this point, without any thing that might appear undutiful or ungrateful to his Majesty.

The elections were canvassing for a new Parliament, and I ordered my pretensions so as they came to fail. In the mean time I deferred my entering into the Secretary's place, till I might likewise enter into the House of Commons, which both his Majesty and Lord Treasurer were satisfied with, though not Lord Sunderland. But when that Parliament was chosen, and I not of the House, I represented to his Majesty how unfit it was to have a Parliament meet without his having one Secretary of the House of Commons, and how useful Mr. Coventry would be to him there; and so obtained a respite till I could be chosen of the House; which was endeavoured upon each doubtful election, especially that at Windsor, but however could not be carried.

The short Parliament met, with the disputes between the Court and the Commons about the Speaker, begun indeed upon a pique between the Treasurer and Mr. Seymour [afterwards Sir Edward Seymour], or rather between my Lady Danby and him. However it was, this soon ran the House into such violences against my Lord Treasurer, as ended in his ruin; first, by the King's sudden resolution to remove him, then by the Commons continuing their pursuits and impeachments; and last, by his Lordship's first concealing, and then producing, himself in the face of this storm, which ended in the Tower.

After these heats of the Commons, which increased into new measures and motions among them, as they were swayed by popular humours upon the plot, and many new plots laid by the ambitions of private persons, carried on under covert of the other; I never saw any man more sensible of the miserable condition of his affairs, than I found his Majesty upon many discourses with him, which my foreign employments and correspon-

dences made way for. But nothing he said to me moved me more, than when, upon the said prospect of them all, he told me, he had none left, with whom he could so much as speak of them in confidence, since my Lord Treasurer's being gone. And this gave, I suppose, his Majesty the occasion of entering into more confidence with me, than I could deserve or expect.

On the other side I found, that the counsel of my Lord Treasurer's removal had been carried on by the Duke of Monmouth, in conjunction with the Duchess of Portsmouth, and Lord Essex, who was then in the greatest confidence with the Duke of Monmouth, and by him and Lord Sunderland newly brought into the Treasury. I found my Lord Sunderland at least in compliance with this knot, and that all were resolved to bring my Lord Shaftesbury again into Court, who was in confidence with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Essex, and had a near relation to Lord Sunderland. I observed the great affection his Majesty had to the Duke of Monmouth, and saw plainly the use his Grace intended to make of it, in case he could introduce a Ministry at his own devotion, or in his interests: and this being a matter that might concern the very succession of the Crown, and not only an injury to the Duke, but through him to his children, and the Prince of Orange; I resolved first, if it were possible, to break the growth of that Ministry, though I saw no men whom I could design to fix in it, with any satisfaction or advantage to the King or his service.

On the other side, I observed the Parliament to grow every day more violent, upon the support they received from the humours raised by the plot, and the incentives given them by the ambitions of persons playing that game. I saw the probability of matters growing to such a pass, that his Majesty

might be forced to part with them; and yet I saw not authority enough left in the Crown, either to do that without the venture of great mischiefs, or to live without another Parliament till the present humours might cool. And both these considerations, meeting together, cast me upon the thoughts of the King's establishing a new council, of such a constitution, as might either gain credit enough with the present Parliament, by taking in so many persons of those who had most among them, and thereby give ease and quiet both to the King and his people; or if, on the other side, the humours should grow outrageous and beyond opposing, the King might yet, at the head of such a council, with more authority and less hazard of ill consequences, either prorogue or dissolve them, as any necessities of his own, or extravagancies of theirs should require.

For these ends it seemed necessary to take into the council some Lords and Commoners who were of most appearing credit and sway in both Houses, without being thought either principled or interested against the government; and mix them with others of his Majesty's more general choice, for making up one half of the council, whilst the other half, being fifteen, were ever to be the present chief officers of his Crown and Household, who being all of his Majesty's known trust, as well as choice, would be sure to keep the council steady to the true interest of his Majesty and the Crown.

But one chief regard, necessary to this constitution, was that of the personal riches of this new council; which, in revenues of land or offices, was found to amount to about three hundred thousand pounds a year; whereas those of a House of Commons are seldom found to have exceeded four hundred thousand pounds. And authority is observed much to follow land: and at the worst, such a council might, out of their own stock, and upon a

pinch, furnish the King so far as to relieve some great necessity of the Crown.

This whole matter was consulted and deduced upon paper, only between the King and me, and lasted in the debate and digestion about a month: but when the forms and persons were agreed, and his Majesty seemed much satisfied with the thing, and resolved to go on with it, I humbly desired him not to take a resolution of that importance, without first communicating it to three or four persons of those his Majesty could most rely upon in point of judgment, secrecy, and affection to his service. The King resolved I should go and communicate the whole scheme, with all the particulars of it, to my * Lord Chancellor, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Essex; but one after another; and with charge from him of the last secrecy; and should bring him word of their opinions upon it: and, if they concurred with his, should appoint them to attend his Majesty next morning; the Chancellor only entering into his lodgings by the common way, but the other two and I by the private one below.

When I acquainted them with it, they all received it with equal amazement and pleasure. My Lord Chancellor said, it looked like a thing from heaven, fallen into his Majesty's breast: Lord Essex, that it would leave the Parliament and nation in the same dispositions to the King which he found at his coming in: and Lord Sunderland approved it as much as any.

Next day we attended his Majesty, and had a very long audience; upon which no difficulty arose but two, that were wholly personal. I had proposed Lord Hallifax as one of the Lords, whom the King had indeed kicked at, in our first consulta-

* Finch.

tions, more than any of the rest: but upon several representations of his family, his abilities, his estate and credit, as well as talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he was spited at, I thought his Majesty had been contented with it: but, at this meeting, he raised new difficulties upon it, and appeared a great while invincible in them, though we all joined in the defence of it: and at last, I told the King, we would fall upon our knees to gain a point that we all thought necessary for his service: and then his Majesty consented.

The other was concerning Lord Shaftesbury, who had never been mentioned in our first debates; and the King either had not thought of him before upon this affair, or had not mentioned him to me, as knowing, upon all occasions of private discourse with his Majesty, what opinion I had of that Lord. But after my Lord Hallifax had passed, the King said there was another, who, if he were left out, might do as much mischief as any, and named Lord Shaftesbury; to which the other three agreed: and concluded further, that he would never be content with a counsellor's place among thirty; and therefore it was proposed to add one to the number, by making a president, which should be he. I disputed this point, from the first mention, to the last conclusion of it, foretelling he would destroy all the good that we expected from the whole constitution: and said all that I could with so much earnestness, that when, by his Majesty's agreeing with the other three, I saw it would be concluded, I walked away to the other end of the room, not knowing well whether I should have gone out or not, if the door had been open; but turning again, I desired his Majesty to remember, that I had no part in Lord Shaftesbury's coming into his council or his affairs; that his Majesty and the other three Lords had resolved it without me; and that I was still absolutely

against it. The King laughed, and turned my anger into a jest; and so went on with the rest of the constitution intended, till the whole was resolved and executed publicly in Easter 1679*.

The night before the thing was to be done, his Majesty thought fit to tell it the Duke of Monmouth; having kept it secret till then, further than to the four already named. But as soon as the Duke of Monmouth knew, though only in general, that the council should be changed, he told it so many, that it was the common talk next morning; which we interpreted either lightness or vanity, to have it thought, that he had part in an affair likely to pass so well. And indeed, when the thing was done in the forms that are known, it was received with general applause in the country, with bonfires in the city, and the same in Ireland: in Holland, the actions of the East-India Company rose upon it immediately, and very much; and the States designed one of their best and most considerable men, Monsieur Van Lewen, to come over Minister into England upon this occasion. France alone was unsatisfied with it, and Monsieur Barillon said it was making *des Etats* [States] and not *des conseils* [councils]; but the reasons were easy to see, and so not much considered.

The House of Commons received it with most coldness, where the contrary was most expected: and the pretending knowers among them, who were not of the council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new revelations, to doubt it might be a new Court-juggle, and to refer it to time to tell what it was in truth; in the mean while to suspend their judgments.

This was the first effect of my Lord Shaftesbury's good meaning to the King and his affairs, into which

* See the Appendix.

he was entered, but not with the personal or transcendent credit he aimed at with his Majesty, and which he thought those who had been authors of this new constitution had the greatest share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the Duke of Monmouth, and use all their endeavours to raise such discontents and heats in the Houses, upon the apprehensions of popery, and propositions to prevent it, that the King found himself soon upon as uneasy terms with this Session of Parliament, as he had been with the last; the humours being engaged by my Lord Shaftesbury's pretending among his patriots, that the Duke of Monmouth had so much credit with the King, that his Majesty desired but a good occasion of consenting to all the Parliament should insist on, which would be given him by their heat and obstinacy, in so popular a point as that against popery: and if that were once gained, the Duke of Monmouth and he should be able to steer all the rest, to the satisfaction of those who called themselves the good or the honest party.

Such a mischief could never have grown, if Lord Shaftesbury had not worked himself up into credit, both in Parliament and city, by the appearance of having it with the King, and in the council where he was president; and by the infusions given of his having or growing yet into greater by a more secret spring, which was the interest of the Duke of Monmouth, and the kindness of his Majesty increasing, as appeared since the Duke's absence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new constitution, Lord Shaftesbury had been left out, as a person marked by his Majesty, and never to enter more into his affairs or confidence; which the whole course of his life, from his very first entrance upon public stages, if examined never so strictly, would have given good

ground for. But this fate, as I could not prevent by all my endeavours, so I had foretold it his Majesty the year before: when, upon my coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent expressions that could be against him; I told his Majesty, that, with his good leave, I would hold any wager, I should yet see that Lord again in his business; and when the King asked me what made me think so, I said, because I knew he was restless while he was out, and would try every door to get in; had wit and industry to find out the ways; and, when money would work, had as much as any body to bestow, and skill enough to know where to place it.

This turn in the King's affairs, upon this new constitution, gave me so great a vexation, and so ill a prospect, that, having delayed the time prescribed for every man's receiving the sacrament according to law, after his entrance into public employment, till it was very near expired; I once resolved, by that omission, to make myself absolutely incapable of bearing any for the future; and was not persuaded to lay aside that thought till after long debates upon it with my wife and sister here at Sheen: but that matter passed in form, and I continued barely of the council, with a resolution of not entering upon the Secretary's office, though often and earnestly urged to it by Lord Sunderland, with others of my friends.

Upon the new constitution of the council, my Lord Sunderland had, by Mr. Sidney, desired that we two might join together in perfect confidence, and distinct from any others in the course of the King's affairs, whether I would enter into the other Secretary's office, or no; which I said I was very willing to embrace, though I knew no need of it, considering how much the general affairs were devolved upon the council, or the particular commit-

tees, and how much I thought it was fit that they should continue so, without running into any private channels. This confidence had not run on above a fortnight, when my Lord Sunderland asked me, if I were willing my Lord Essex should be received into it; which I consented to, though with intimation to Lord Sunderland of the opinion I had (for some time of late) of Lord Essex, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met, for a while, once a day by turns, at each of our houses, and consulted upon the chief affairs that were then on the anvil, and how they might be best prepared for the Parliament or the Council: but matters growing very untoward, by the practices of Lord Shaftesbury, with the Duke of Monmouth's cover at least, and upon the ill humour of the House of Commons about the business of religion; and my Lord Hallifax appearing unsatisfied, by observing where the King's confidence was; I proposed to my Lords Sunderland and Essex, to receive him into all our consultations; which I thought would both enter him into credit with the King, and give us more ease in the course of his affairs. Lord Essex received this overture with his usual dryness; Lord Sunderland opposed it a good deal, and told me, I should not find Lord Hallifax the person I took him for, but one that could draw with nobody, and still climbing up to the top himself. However, I continued resolute in pressing it; and so at length the thing was concluded, and we fell all four together into the usual meetings and consultations.

The chief matters that lay before the King at that time were, first, the satisfaction of his people by falling into some measures with the Parliament that might enable him to look abroad in such a figure as became the Crown of England, and was necessary for preventing the common fears of a new invasion

of France upon Flanders or Holland, which looked very desperate without some strong and resolute protection from England.

The second was a resolution to be taken in answer to the instances made by Monsieur Van Lewen from the States, about a new guaranty to be given upon the late general peace by his Majesty, particularly to Spain in the business of Flanders.

The third was the giving some ease to Scotland, where the humours began to swell about this time; and which we conceived could be no way done so easily, as by removal of the Duke of Lauderdale; a man too much hated both here and there, to be fit for the temper his Majesty seemed resolved to use in his affairs.

For this last, we could not upon any terms obtain it of the King, by all the arguments used (both jointly and severally) by us all four; the King's defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew Scotland so well as his Majesty himself.

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For the first thing, which was the most important, we found it more perplexed than we could imagine. Both Houses of Parliament seemed to have no eyes, but for the dangers of popery upon the Duke's succession to the Crown; which humour was blown up by all the arts and intrigues of

the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury. The King seemed willing to secure them all that could be against those fears, without changing the laws in point of succession. * The House of Commons were busy in finding out expedients to secure this point, but could agree on none; being still diverted from fixing on any by Lord Saftesbury's practices. The council fell upon the same scent with great earnestness and endeavour; and, after much hammering, agreed upon many heads to be offered the Parliament, which are commonly enough known.

These expedients were agreed to by all the council, except my Lord Shaftesbury and me; who were against them, upon very different grounds. Mine were two; first, because I believed, that nothing that came first from the King upon these points would be accepted by the Commons; who, if they would be satisfied at all, I thought should first agree upon what, and leave it to the King to take or refuse. The second was, that as I did not see any certain ease these expedients would give the King, though agreed to by the Houses; so it was evident to all men, that they would leave the Crown after him in shackles, which, put on upon the Duke's occasion, and in his time, would not be easily knocked off by any successor. My Lord Shaftesbury's ground was plain, and so expressed by him upon all occasions; which was, that there could be no security against the Duke, if once in possession of the Crown; and this being well infused by his and the Duke of Monmouth's friends into the House of Commons, occasioned their sullen rejecting all the expedients offered them by the King, and laid the foundation for the proceedings of the late

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House of Commons, and the strange disorders wherein they have left affairs at home, and thereby the desperate condition of affairs abroad.

During all these transactions the three Lords and I continued our constant meetings and consultations; and with so much union, and so disinterested endeavours for the general good of his Majesty's service and the kingdom's, that I could not but say to them, at the end of one of our meetings, that we four were either the four honestest men in England, or the greatest knaves; for we made one another at least believe, that we were the honestest men in the world.

But this conjunction held not long: for, after the Houses rejecting the expedients offered by the King and Council, my Lord Shaftesbury finding himself neither in confidence with the King, nor credit in the Council, turned all his practices and hopes to the House of Commons, and inflamed them to that degree, as made the three Lords of my commerce begin to grow uneasy, and to cast about which way they might lay this storm. At length my Lord Sunderland told me that Lord Essex and Lord Hallifax were of opinion, that it was necessary to take in the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury into the first digestion of affairs, considering the influence they had upon the House; and for this end to agree with them in the banishment of the Duke, either for a certain term, or during the King's life; and desired to know whether I would fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord Sunderland positively I would not: for, first, I would never have any thing to do with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury; and next, I would never enter into matters of difference between the King and his brother; having upon several occasions told them both, that I would ever do all I

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could towards the union of the whole royal family; but never would have any thing to do in the divisions of it; and no man should ever reproach me with breaking my word, and much less the King or the Duke.

This was peremptory, and so it ended; and thereupon the three Lords fell into meetings and consultations with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury, which I knew nothing of, and began to come less to council, and to meet no more with my usual company, but upon occasion, and without the first confidence; but we still continued our kindness wherever we met, without my enquiring, or they communicating, what passed in their new consultations.

But this lasted not long neither; for, within a fortnight or little more, they began to find the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the House of Commons to endeavour bringing the King into necessities of yielding all points to them, and thereby leaving the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury absolutely at the head of all affairs; so that the three Lords began to make their complaints of it, and to fall upon the thoughts of proroguing the Parliament, as the only remedy left in the present distemper. I agreed with them in this overture, and the rather, because I foresaw it would absolutely break the three Lords from all commerce with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury: and so we agreed to propose it to his Majesty, and that it should be debated and resolved at council; where the chief officers depending upon the King being one half of the council, and joining with others of us that were of his more indifferent choice, we concluded the resolution could not fail to be taken by the majority of the council; if the reasons and necessity of it should not pre-

vail with some of those who seemed most in my Lord Shaftesbury's confidence, to leave him upon this occasion. And in this resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again two days after for the fixing it with his Majesty, upon my engaging to go for so long down into the country, where I staid my two days, and came up the third morning early.

Upon my arrival, I found my Lord Sunderland had called or sent several times to my house the night before, and left word that he must needs speak with me as soon as I came to town. I sent immediately to Whitehall, but found his Lordship was gone already with the King to the House of Lords; whereupon I went to Lord Essex, who was nearest me, and asked whether any thing new had happened. He told me that the King had found out there were remonstrances ready prepared in the House of Commons, to inflame the city and nation upon the points of plot and popery; and that their three Lordships having upon it consulted with his Majesty, he had resolved the Parliament should be prorogued that morning, upon the King's coming to the House, and that it could not be allowed time or vent by a debate of council; which, for my part, I thought an ill omission, and that it ought to have the authority of the King with advice of his council, according to the usual forms: but it passed otherwise, and with very great resentment of both Houses; and such rage of my Lord Shaftesbury, that he said upon it aloud in the House, that he would have the heads of those who were the advisers of this prorogation.

During this session of Parliament, I had several notices given me of a practice set on foot in the House of Commons for impeaching me as one that had been an instrument of making the general peace; and this was urged by stories, of being a man of arbitrary principles, and one that had writ-

tions, more than any of the rest: but upon several representations of his family, his abilities, his estate and credit, as well as talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he was spited at, I thought his Majesty had been contented with it: but, at this meeting, he raised new difficulties upon it, and appeared a great while invincible in them, though we all joined in the defence of it: and at last, I told the King, we would fall upon our knees to gain a point that we all thought necessary for his service: and then his Majesty consented.

The other was concerning Lord Shaftesbury, who had never been mentioned in our first debates; and the King either had not thought of him before upon this affair, or had not mentioned him to me, as knowing, upon all occasions of private discourse with his Majesty, what opinion I had of that Lord. But after my Lord Hallifax had passed, the King said there was another, who, if he were left out, might do as much mischief as any, and named Lord Shaftesbury; to which the other three agreed: and concluded further, that he would never be content with a counsellor's place among thirty; and therefore it was proposed to add one to the number, by making a president, which should be he. I disputed this point, from the first mention, to the last conclusion of it, foretelling he would destroy all the good that we expected from the whole constitution: and said all that I could with so much earnestness, that when, by his Majesty's agreeing with the other three, I saw it would be concluded, I walked away to the other end of the room, not knowing well whether I should have gone out or not, if the door had been open; but turning again, I desired his Majesty to remember, that I had no part in Lord Shaftesbury's coming into his council or his affairs; that his Majesty and the other three Lords had resolved it without me; and that I was still absolutely

against it. The King laughed, and turned my anger into a jest; and so went on with the rest of the constitution intended, till the whole was resolved and executed publicly in Easter 1679*.

The night before the thing was to be done, his Majesty thought fit to tell it the Duke of Monmouth; having kept it secret till then, further than to the four already named. But as soon as the Duke of Monmouth knew, though only in general, that the council should be changed, he told it so many, that it was the common talk next morning; which we interpreted either lightness or vanity, to have it thought, that he had part in an affair likely to pass so well. And indeed, when the thing was done in the forms that are known, it was received with general applause in the country, with bonfires in the city, and the same in Ireland: in Holland, the actions of the East-India Company rose upon it immediately, and very much; and the States designed one of their best and most considerable men, Monsieur Van Lewen, to come over Minister into England upon this occasion. France alone was unsatisfied with it, and Monsieur Barillon said it was making *des Etats* [States] and not *des conseils* [councils]; but the reasons were easy to see, and so not much considered.

The House of Commons received it with most coldness, where the contrary was most expected: and the pretending knowers among them, who were not of the council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new revelations, to doubt it might be a new Court-juggle, and to refer it to time to tell what it was in truth; in the mean while to suspend their judgments.

This was the first effect of my Lord Shaftesbury's good meaning to the King and his affairs, into which

* See the Appendix.

he was entered, but not with the personal or transcendent credit he aimed at with his Majesty, and which he thought those who had been authors of this new constitution had the greatest share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the Duke of Monmouth, and use all their endeavours to raise such discontents and heats in the Houses, upon the apprehensions of popery, and propositions to prevent it, that the King found himself soon upon as uneasy terms with this Session of Parliament, as he had been with the last; the humours being engaged by my Lord Shaftesbury's pretending among his patriots, that the Duke of Monmouth had so much credit with the King, that his Majesty desired but a good occasion of consenting to all the Parliament should insist on, which would be given him by their heat and obstinacy, in so popular a point as that against popery: and if that were once gained, the Duke of Monmouth and he should be able to steer all the rest, to the satisfaction of those who called themselves the good or the honest party.

Such a mischief could never have grown, if Lord Shaftesbury had not worked himself up into credit, both in Parliament and city, by the appearance of having it with the King, and in the council where he was president; and by the infusions given of his having or growing yet into greater by a more secret spring, which was the interest of the Duke of Monmouth, and the kindness of his Majesty increasing, as appeared since the Duke's absence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new constitution, Lord Shaftesbury had been left out, as a person marked by his Majesty, and never to enter more into his affairs or confidence; which the whole course of his life, from his very first entrance upon public stages, if examined never so strictly, would have given good

ground for. But this fate, as I could not prevent by all my endeavours, so I had foretold it his Majesty the year before: when, upon my coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent expressions that could be against him; I told his Majesty, that, with his good leave, I would hold any wager, I should yet see that Lord again in his business; and when the King asked me what made me think so, I said, because I knew he was restless while he was out, and would try every door to get in; had wit and industry to find out the ways; and, when money would work, had as much as any body to bestow, and skill enough to know where to place it.

This turn in the King's affairs, upon this new constitution, gave me so great a vexation, and so ill a prospect, that, having delayed the time prescribed for every man's receiving the sacrament according to law, after his entrance into public employment, till it was very near expired; I once resolved, by that omission, to make myself absolutely incapable of bearing any for the future; and was not persuaded to lay aside that thought till after long debates upon it with my wife and sister here at Sheen: but that matter passed in form, and I continued barely of the council, with a resolution of not entering upon the Secretary's office, though often and earnestly urged to it by Lord Sunderland, with others of my friends.

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ten several things, though without name, against the constitution of Parliaments, and in favour of popery: and this went so far, that * Mr. Mountague went a great way from man to man in the House, to know whether, if such an accusation were brought in, they would be against me. Several went into it upon hatred to the late Treasurer, whose friend they took me to be, and upon envy at my being designed for Secretary of State; but yet in no such numbers that Mr. Mountague could hope to make any thing of it: and when some of my friends acquainted me with it, I only desired them to obtain leave of the House, that I might hear my accusation at the bar of the House, and assured them that I should be glad to have that occasion of telling there both Mr. Mountague's story and my own. This fell; but upon the knowledge of these practices, my Lord Sunderland and Mr. † Sydney, who thought that a man, who had such a part in the King's affairs, ought to stand as well as he could with the House of Commons, pressed me to suffer several small things I had formerly written, and of which copies had run, to be then printed, as they were, under the title of *Miscellanea*. They thought, by that publication, men would see I was not a man of the dangerous principles pretended; and I might assure the world of being author of no books that had not my name. The thing seemed to pass well enough; only Lord Hallifax, commending them to me in general, told me as a friend, that I should take heed of carrying too far that principle of paternal dominion (which was deduced in the essay *Of Government*), for fear of destroying the rights of the people. So tender was every body of those points at that time.

* Afterwards Duke of Mountague.

† Afterwards Earl of Rumney.

The three Lords and I went on unanimous in our consultations; considering how to make way for a calmer and better-tempered session of Parliament, after the short prorogation which had been made. To which purpose we again endeavoured the removal of the Duke of Lauderdale, or at least the admission of other Nobles of Scotland into those affairs. We concluded the measures with Holland in all points, to the satisfaction of their Ambassador; and thought of such acts of council, as might express his Majesty's care for suppressing popery even in the intervals of Parliament. We only disagreed in one point, which was the leaving some priests to the law upon the accusation of being priests only, as the House of Commons had desired; which I thought wholly unjust, without giving them public warning by proclamation to be gone, or expect the penalties of law within such a time; since the connivances had lasted now through three Kings reigns: upon this point Lord Hallifax and I had so sharp a debate at Lord Sunderland's lodgings, that he told me, if I would not concur in points which were so necessary for the people's satisfaction, he would tell every body I was a papist: and upon his affirming that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it were so or no, in those points that were so generally believed by city or country as well as both Houses; I replied, with some heat, that the plot was a matter long on foot before I came over into England; that to understand it, one must have been here to observe all the motions of it; which not having done, I would have nothing to do with it: in other things I was content to join with them, where they thought I could be of use to the King's service; and where they thought there was none, I was very willing to be excused; and very glad

he was entered, but not with the personal or transcendent credit he aimed at with his Majesty, and which he thought those who had been authors of this new constitution had the greatest share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the Duke of Monmouth, and use all their endeavours to raise such discontents and heats in the Houses, upon the apprehensions of popery, and propositions to prevent it, that the King found himself soon upon as uneasy terms with this Session of Parliament, as he had been with the last; the humours being engaged by my Lord Shaftesbury's pretending among his patriots, that the Duke of Monmouth had so much credit with the King, that his Majesty desired but a good occasion of consenting to all the Parliament should insist on, which would be given him by their heat and obstinacy, in so popular a point as that against popery: and if that were once gained, the Duke of Monmouth and he should be able to steer all the rest, to the satisfaction of those who called themselves the good or the honest party.

Such a mischief could never have grown, if Lord Shaftesbury had not worked himself up into credit, both in Parliament and city, by the appearance of having it with the King, and in the council where he was president; and by the infusions given of his having or growing yet into greater by a more secret spring, which was the interest of the Duke of Monmouth, and the kindness of his Majesty increasing, as appeared since the Duke's absence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new constitution, Lord Shaftesbury had been left out, as a person marked by his Majesty, and never to enter more into his affairs or confidence; which the whole course of his life, from his very first entrance upon public stages, if examined never so strictly, would have given good

ground for. But this fate, as I could not prevent by all my endeavours, so I had foretold it his Majesty the year before: when, upon my coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent expressions that could be against him; I told his Majesty, that, with his good leave, I would hold any wager, I should yet see that Lord again in his business; and when the King asked me what made me think so, I said, because I knew he was restless while he was out, and would try every door to get in; had wit and industry to find out the ways; and, when money would work, had as much as any body to bestow, and skill enough to know where to place it.

This turn in the King's affairs, upon this new constitution, gave me so great a vexation, and so ill a prospect, that, having delayed the time prescribed for every man's receiving the sacrament according to law, after his entrance into public employment, till it was very near expired; I once resolved, by that omission, to make myself absolutely incapable of bearing any for the future; and was not persuaded to lay aside that thought till after long debates upon it with my wife and sister here at Sheen: but that matter passed in form, and I continued barely of the council, with a resolution of not entering upon the Secretary's office, though often and earnestly urged to it by Lord Sunderland, with others of my friends.

Upon the new constitution of the council, my Lord Sunderland had, by Mr. Sidney, desired that we two might join together in perfect confidence, and distinct from any others in the course of the King's affairs, whether I would enter into the other Secretary's office, or no; which I said I was very willing to embrace, though I knew no need of it, considering how much the general affairs were devolved upon the council, or the particular commit-

tees, and how much I thought it was fit that they should continue so, without running into any private channels. This confidence had not run on above a fortnight, when my Lord Sunderland asked me, if I were willing my Lord Essex should be received into it; which I consented to, though with intimation to Lord Sunderland of the opinion I had (for some time of late) of Lord Essex, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met, for a while, once a day by turns, at each of our houses, and consulted upon the chief affairs that were then on the anvil, and how they might be best prepared for the Parliament or the Council: but matters growing very untoward, by the practices of Lord Shaftesbury, with the Duke of Monmouth's cover at least, and upon the ill humour of the House of Commons about the business of religion; and my Lord Hallifax appearing unsatisfied, by observing where the King's confidence was; I proposed to my Lords Sunderland and Essex, to receive him into all our consultations; which I thought would both enter him into credit with the King, and give us more ease in the course of his affairs. Lord Essex received this overture with his usual dryness; Lord Sunderland opposed it a good deal, and told me, I should not find Lord Hallifax the person I took him for, but one that could draw with nobody, and still climbing up to the top himself. However, I continued resolute in pressing it; and so at length the thing was concluded, and we fell all four together into the usual meetings and consultations.

The chief matters that lay before the King at that time were, first, the satisfaction of his people by falling into some measures with the Parliament that might enable him to look abroad in such a figure as became the Crown of England, and was necessary for preventing the common fears of a new invasion

of France upon Flanders or Holland, which looked very desperate without some strong and resolute protection from England.

The second was a resolution to be taken in answer to the instances made by Monsieur Van Lewen from the States, about a new guaranty to be given upon the late general peace by his Majesty, particularly to Spain in the business of Flanders.

The third was the giving some ease to Scotland, where the humours began to swell about this time; and which we conceived could be no way done so easily, as by removal of the Duke of Lauderdale; a man too much hated both here and there, to be fit for the temper his Majesty seemed resolved to use in his affairs.

For this last, we could not upon any terms obtain it of the King, by all the arguments used (both jointly and severally) by us all four; the King's defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew Scotland so well as his Majesty himself.

For the second, we easily agreed upon the measures that seemed necessary for the satisfaction of the States, and the safety of Flanders; being all four of the committee, where all the foreign affairs were consulted; and taking the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury into the first digestion of this treaty with Holland, at a meeting for that purpose, at my Lord Hallifax's house; which was the only time I ever had any thing to do, or so much as talk, with my Lord Shaftesbury, further than the council chamber.

For the first thing, which was the most important, we found it more perplexed than we could imagine. Both Houses of Parliament seemed to have no eyes, but for the dangers of popery upon the Duke's succession to the Crown; which humour was blown up by all the arts and intrigues of

the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury. The King seemed willing to secure them all that could be against those fears, without changing the laws in point of succession. * The House of Commons were busy in finding out expedients to secure this point, but could agree on none; being still diverted from fixing on any by Lord Saftesbury's practices. The council fell upon the same scent with great earnestness and endeavour; and, after much hammering, agreed upon many heads to be offered the Parliament, which are commonly enough known.

These expedients were agreed to by all the council, except my Lord Shaftesbury and me; who were against them, upon very different grounds. Mine were two; first, because I believed, that nothing that came first from the King upon these points would be accepted by the Commons; who, if they would be satisfied at all, I thought should first agree upon what, and leave it to the King to take or refuse. The second was, that as I did not see any certain ease these expedients would give the King, though agreed to by the Houses; so it was evident to all men, that they would leave the Crown after him in shackles, which, put on upon the Duke's occasion, and in his time, would not be easily knocked off by any successor. My Lord Shaftesbury's ground was plain, and so expressed by him upon all occasions; which was, that there could be no security against the Duke, if once in possession of the Crown; and this being well infused by his and the Duke of Monmouth's friends into the House of Commons, occasioned their sullen rejecting all the expedients offered them by the King, and laid the foundation for the proceedings of the late

* See the Appendix.

House of Commons, and the strange disorders wherein they have left affairs at home, and thereby the desperate condition of affairs abroad.

During all these transactions the three Lords and I continued our constant meetings and consultations; and with so much union, and so disinterested endeavours for the general good of his Majesty's service and the kingdom's, that I could not but say to them, at the end of one of our meetings, that we four were either the four honestest men in England, or the greatest knaves; for we made one another at least believe, that we were the honestest men in the world.

But this conjunction held not long: for, after the Houses rejecting the expedients offered by the King and Council, my Lord Shaftesbury finding himself neither in confidence with the King, nor credit in the Council, turned all his practices and hopes to the House of Commons, and inflamed them to that degree, as made the three Lords of my commerce begin to grow uneasy, and to cast about which way they might lay this storm. At length my Lord Sunderland told me that Lord Essex and Lord Hallifax were of opinion, that it was necessary to take in the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury into the first digestion of affairs, considering the influence they had upon the House; and for this end to agree with them in the banishment of the Duke, either for a certain term, or during the King's life; and desired to know whether I would fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord Sunderland positively I would not: for, first, I would never have any thing to do with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury; and next, I would never enter into matters of difference between the King and his brother; having upon several occasions told them both, that I would ever do all I

could towards the union of the whole royal family; but never would have any thing to do in the divisions of it; and no man should ever reproach me with breaking my word, and much less the King or the Duke.

This was peremptory, and so it ended; and thereupon the three Lords fell into meetings and consultations with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury, which I knew nothing of, and began to come less to council, and to meet no more with my usual company, but upon occasion, and without the first confidence; but we still continued our kindness wherever we met, without my enquiring, or they communicating, what passed in their new consultations.

But this lasted not long neither; for, within a fortnight or little more, they began to find the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the House of Commons to endeavour bringing the King into necessities of yielding all points to them, and thereby leaving the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury absolutely at the head of all affairs; so that the three Lords began to make their complaints of it, and to fall upon the thoughts of proroguing the Parliament, as the only remedy left in the present distemper. I agreed with them in this overture, and the rather, because I foresaw it would absolutely break the three Lords from all commerce with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury: and so we agreed to propose it to his Majesty, and that it should be debated and resolved at council; where the chief officers depending upon the King being one half of the council, and joining with others of us that were of his more indifferent choice, we concluded the resolution could not fail to be taken by the majority of the council; if the reasons and necessity of it should not pre-

vail with some of those who seemed most in my Lord Shaftesbury's confidence, to leave him upon this occasion. And in this resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again two days after for the fixing it with his Majesty, upon my engaging to go for so long down into the country, where I staid my two days, and came up the third morning early.

Upon my arrival, I found my Lord Sunderland had called or sent several times to my house the night before, and left word that he must needs speak with me as soon as I came to town. I sent immediately to Whitehall, but found his Lordship was gone already with the King to the House of Lords; whereupon I went to Lord Essex, who was nearest me, and asked whether any thing new had happened. He told me that the King had found out there were remonstrances ready prepared in the House of Commons, to inflame the city and nation upon the points of plot and popery; and that their three Lordships having upon it consulted with his Majesty, he had resolved the Parliament should be prorogued that morning, upon the King's coming to the House, and that it could not be allowed time or vent by a debate of council; which, for my part, I thought an ill omission, and that it ought to have the authority of the King with advice of his council, according to the usual forms: but it passed otherwise, and with very great resentment of both Houses; and such rage of my Lord Shaftesbury, that he said upon it aloud in the House, that he would have the heads of those who were the advisers of this prorogation.

During this session of Parliament, I had several notices given me of a practice set on foot in the House of Commons for impeaching me as one that had been an instrument of making the general peace; and this was urged by stories, of being a man of arbitrary principles, and one that had writ-

ten several things, though without name, against the constitution of Parliaments, and in favour of popery: and this went so far, that * Mr. Mountague went a great way from man to man in the House, to know whether, if such an accusation were brought in, they would be against me. Several went into it upon hatred to the late Treasurer, whose friend they took me to be, and upon envy at my being designed for Secretary of State; but yet in no such numbers that Mr. Mountague could hope to make any thing of it: and when some of my friends acquainted me with it, I only desired them to obtain leave of the House, that I might hear my accusation at the bar of the House, and assured them that I should be glad to have that occasion of telling there both Mr. Mountague's story and my own. This fell; but upon the knowledge of these practices, my Lord Sunderland and Mr. † Sydney, who thought that a man, who had such a part in the King's affairs, ought to stand as well as he could with the House of Commons, pressed me to suffer several small things I had formerly written, and of which copies had run, to be then printed, as they were, under the title of *Miscellanea*. They thought, by that publication, men would see I was not a man of the dangerous principles pretended; and I might assure the world of being author of no books that had not my name. The thing seemed to pass well enough; only Lord Hallifax, commending them to me in general, told me as a friend, that I should take heed of carrying too far that principle of paternal dominion (which was deduced in the essay *Of Government*), for fear of destroying the rights of the people. So tender was every body of those points at that time.

* Afterwards Duke of Mountague.

† Afterwards Earl of Rumney.

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to leave his Majesty's affairs in so good hands as theirs.

Notwithstanding some such differences between me and the three Lords, yet we continued our consultations and confidence; and two of them, Lord Sunderland and Hallifax, pressed me extremely about this time to come into the Secretary's place. Lord Hallifax particularly offering to bring it to a point with his uncle Coventry upon the money that was to be paid; pretending to be very desirous to see me posted there; and professing to grow weary of the business, since he could find no temper like to grow in the next session of Parliament between the King and them. For since the last prorogation, Lord Shaftesbury had been busy in preparing fuel for next session, not without perpetual appearance of ill humour at council, which broke into spiteful repartees often betwixt him and Lord Hallifax. And on the other side, the Duke of Monmouth had broken all measures with Lord Essex, with whom he had been long in the last confidence: so as this grew to a spited quarrel between these four; and though commonly smothered when they met, yet not without smoke appearing where they were observed.

In this condition of affairs the rebellion in Scotland broke out; upon which it was pleasant to observe the counterpaces that were made. The King was for suppressing it immediately, by forces from hence to be dispatched and joined with those in Scotland, and the Duke of Monmouth to go and command them all. Lord Shaftesbury shewed plainly at council, and in other places, that he was unwilling this rising should be wholly or too soon suppressed, or otherwise than by his friends in Scotland, who might be thereby introduced into the direction of affairs there, with the removal of

the Duke of Lauderdale: yet, on the other side, he was willing to see the Duke of Monmouth grow great by such a command of the King's forces, both English and Scots; and agreed with that Duke, to put the King upon another project at the same time, and to the same end, which was (upon the Duke of Monmouth's carrying so many of the forces here into Scotland) to raise a troop of two hundred gentlemen for the guard and safety of the King's person, whereof the Duke of Monmouth to be captain; and which was to be composed chiefly of officers who were out of employment, and whose merits were best known to the Duke of Monmouth.

On the other side, Lord Essex, though he agreed with the King's opinion, to have the Scots insurrection suppressed; yet he had a mind it should be done by the Scots, to prevent the Duke of Monmouth's growing greater than he yet was by that command; especially if it should be followed with success. And though he would not oppose his Majesty in his resolution of sending the Duke of Monmouth upon this expedition; yet he did very openly the other design, which the King himself seemed much bent upon, as well as the Duke of Monmouth, to raise the troop of two hundred gentlemen. The other two Lords and I fell in with him in this last; though Lord Essex was most instrumental in breaking it, by raising invincible difficulties in the Treasury, where he was at the head; so as, upon composition, money was found for the Duke of Monmouth's marching into Scotland, and with great ease to him in his personal pretensions; and the new troop was let fall upon want of money.

The Duke of Monmouth went into Scotland; succeeded; took the body of rebels; suppressed absolutely the rebellion; ordered the punishment

of some; gave pardon to the rest; returned in triumph; was received with great applauses and court from all; with great appearance of kindness and credit by the King, who was now removed to Windsor, and the Council to Hampton-Court, where the Duke of Monmouth was received.

The term of the prorogation of Parliament drew near expiring, and all agreed that a session could not conveniently begin before October: and a day was appointed for considering that matter at council. The Duke of Monmouth was greater than ever: Lord Shaftesbury reckoned upon being so too, upon the next meeting of Parliament, and at the cost of those whom he took to be the authors of the last prorogation: Lord Essex and Hallifax looked upon themselves as most in his danger, and aimed at by Lord Shaftesbury's threats, and out of all measures with the Duke of Monmouth. This induced a consultation among us, whether, considering the distempers of the present Parliament, the best course were not to dissolve it, and have another called in October; wherein the three Lords and I agreed; and the King was perfectly of the same mind, considering with what distempers that Parliament both began and continued. So it was resolved, that the King should propose, at next council, whether it were best to prorogue that Parliament, or dissolve it, and at the same time call another; and that, in the mean time, the Lord Chancellor, and the other chief officers depending upon the King, should be acquainted with his mind, either by his Majesty or the three Lords. For, since the King's going to Windsor, I continued at Sheen, and only went to Hampton-Court on council-days; though the three Lords came often to me, and pressed me as often to come as they did to Court; and Lord Hallifax protested he would burn my house, and that if I would not enter upon the

Secretary's office, his uncle Coventry would look out for some other chapman; for as soon as he had found one, he was resolved to part with it. I told him I was very willing, and would speak to the King, that his market should not be spoiled upon any occasion. Whether his Lordship believed me or no, I did so, and desired his Majesty to think of some other for that place; for my ill health increasing with my age, made me find myself unable to go through with the toils of that office, if executed in the forms and with the attendance it required. The King told me, he could not consent to it; that if he should, he knew not a man in England fit for it besides me, so that I had no reason to take it kindly of him. I desired his Majesty to give me leave, and I would propose three persons, of which I would undertake every one should be fitter than I. The King would not so much as hear me name them; but told me, it was a point he had been so long fixed in, that he could not change his resolution.

In our last meeting we had calculated how many at council could, in any probability, oppose the dissolving of the present Parliament, and calling another; and we had concluded, there could not be above six in the whole council that could be against it at the most; which we thought would be a great support to the King's resolution, against all the exclamations we expected from Lord Shaftesbury and his friends; and at least, that it would be safe against the consequences which were usually deduced from the forms of calling Parliaments always by advice of the council, that the dissolving of them ought to be so too, at least when it was not at their own desire.

The council-day came; and when I came thither, and found the King and three Lords, with some others already there, I asked Lord Sunder-

land and Hallifax, whether all was prepared, and Lord Chancellor and other chief officers had been spoke to? They said, No; it had been forgotten or neglected; but the King would do it to each of them apart as they came that morning, and before the council began. I thought it hard, a point of that importance should be neglected so long; but was fain to content myself with what they told me would be done. The outward room, where the King was, filled apace; every one made his leg to his Majesty, and filled the circle about him as they came in: I was talking apart, in a corner of the room, till it grew late, and Lord Chancellor told the King that it was so, and I saw the King turn from the Chancellor, and go into the council-chamber: all followed; the council sat; the King proposed his thoughts, whether it were best for his affairs to prorogue this Parliament till October, or to dissolve it, and call another at that time; and desired their Lordships opinions upon it.

I observed a general surprise at the board; which made me begin to doubt, the King had spoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor before he came in: but it soon appeared he had not so much as done that neither: for, after a long pause, he was the first that rose up, and spoke long and violently against the dissolution; and was followed by Lord Shaftesbury in the amplest manner, and most tragical terms; Lord Anglesey followed them, by urging all the fatal consequences that could be: the same style was pursued by Lord * Chamberlain, and agreed to by the Marquis of Worcester; and pursued from the top to the very bottom of the table by every man there, and at a very full council; except the three Lords who spoke for the dissolution, but neither with half the length or force of argu-

* Earl of Arlington.

ment they intended to have done; leaving that part, as I supposed, to me, who was, I confess, well enough instructed in the case, to have said more upon that argument: but I was spited from the first that I heard of my Lord Chancellor's speech, and still more and more as every man spoke, at the consequences happened by such a negligence of my friends, who had been perpetually about the King, and might so easily have effected what was agreed on, and thought so necessary. I was the last but one to speak, and saw argument would signify nothing, after such inequality was declared in number; and so contented myself to say in short, that I thought it was every man's opinion, that a happy agreement between his Majesty and Parliament was of necessity to his affairs both at home and abroad: that all the difference, in a continuance of this, or assembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the likelihood of agreeing better and easier with one than with the other: that his Majesty had spoken so much of his despairing about any agreement with this present Parliament, and the hopes he had of doing it with another, that, for my part, I thought that ought to decide it; because I thought his Majesty could better judge of that point than any body else. So his Majesty ordered the Chancellor to draw up a proclamation for dissolving that Parliament, and calling another to assemble in October following: and thereupon the council broke up, with the greatest rage in the world of the Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Russel, and two or three more, and the general dissatisfaction of the whole board.

After the council ended, every man's head began to fill with the thoughts of the new elections, and several spoke to the King upon that subject. I had resolved to stand for the university of Cam-

bridge; and the Duke of Monmouth being Chancellor, I desired the King to speak to him, to write to some of his friends in my favour: he excused himself, first, upon engagements; but the King pressed him upon mine, as a thing of importance; and that he could not be otherwise engaged before he knew of the Parliament's being dissolved. I said a good deal too upon it: but do what the King could, by all he was pleased to say, the Duke of Monmouth would not be brought further, than to say, he would not meddle in it one way or the other; which gave me the first plain and open testimony of his dispositions towards me, having ever received before all outward civilities, though without my visits or attendances. Yet, I think, his Grace kept his word with me in this point better than I expected: for my election in the University proceeded with the most general concurrence that could be there, and without any difficulties I could observe from that side; those which were raised coming from the Bishop of Ely; who owned the opposing me from the chapter *Of Religion*, in my *Observations on the Netherlands*, which gave him an opinion, that mine was for such a toleration of religion, as is there described to be in Holland.

The council, after this day, was put off till the King's return to London, according to the use of that season; and every one began to canvas for elections in the ensuing Parliament, upon which all his Majesty's affairs seemed to depend. The King, in the mean time, resolved to do all that could help to make fair weather there. I told my friends, I would take care of my election, and go down about it; but, for the rest, would pass my time at home the remainder of the summer, and recommended the common cares to the three Lords; whose attendance, I knew, would not fail at Court, two of

them from their offices, and the * third from his humour; which he owned always must have business to employ it, or would else be uneasy.

The summer was declining, but the Duke of Monmouth in his greatest height, when the King fell sick at Windsor, and with three such fits of a fever as gave much apprehension, and that a general amazement; people looking upon any thing, at this time, that should happen ill to the King as an end of the world. I went to Windsor, after the second fit; and, having seen his Majesty, observed more strength and fewer ill symptoms than had been reported; nor could I think him in danger, without accidents, which was to be the care of his physicians, who were some of them wholly of my mind. I found and left the three Lords very diligent at Court, in attending both his person and affairs, which I was very glad of; and so came home without entering further into any discourses with them, than of his Majesty's sickness; which was then the general discourse and care.

About three or four days having received assurance of the King's certain recovery, by being free of any return of his fever fits, I went up to London to solicit a great arrear of my embassies due from the Treasury. The Commissioners were met that morning at my Lord Essex's house, whither I went straight; but, by the way, heard that the Duke was that night passed through London, and rode post to Windsor; which I doubted not his Highness had been induced to by the reports of the King's danger, upon the news of his sickness; and made no further reflection upon it, than that of the great surprise, and *martel en tête* [uneasiness] that would be given Lord Essex and Hallifax by this sudden arrival of the Duke, to whose interests they had run

* The Marquis of Hallifax.

so counter, and with such heights, for several years. But upon their late separating all measures from the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury, I thought I had field enough left for doing them good offices to the Duke, when I should see him, which I resolved the next day.

When I came to Lord Essex's house, and asked for the commissioners, I found they were sat some time, but that Lord Essex had newly left them together, and was gone up into his chamber, whither I was immediately sent for; his servants went out and left him booted, and ready to get up on horseback. As soon as we were alone, he asked me, whether I had not met with strange news, and what I thought of it? I said, it did not seem very strange that the Duke should come, if he thought the King in danger. Lord Essex replied, yet it was strange he should come without leave from the King; and that, now his Majesty was well, sure he would not think of staying three days: that he was going as fast as he could to Windsor, to see what all this business was; and asked me if I would not go; which I excused for that day, but promised the next. In this little discourse, I observed all along a sneering smile, which I knew not what to make of; I thought, if it were a countenance, it was better put on than was usual with his Lordship; and that he should be pleased with it at heart, I could not well imagine, knowing how things had passed between the Duke and him.

Next day I went to Windsor; and the first man I met was Lord Hallifax coming down from Court on foot, and with a face of trouble; and as soon as he saw me, with hands lifted up two or three times; upon which I stopt, and alighting, asked what was the matter; he told me, I knew all as well as he; that the Duke was come; that every body was amazed; but where we were, or what would be

next, nobody knew: he bid me go on to Court before the King went out; said he was going to his lodging, to sit and think over this new world; but desired we might meet, and my Lord Sunderland, after dinner.

I went to the King; and after him to the Duke, who received me with great kindness, and presently carried me into a little inner room, and asked me smiling and very familiarly, whether I did not wonder to see him here: I told him, not at all, if he had thought the King in danger; for in that case his Highness had nothing else to do: and that I believed, upon the first news of his Majesty's illness, he would come as near as he could, either to Newport or Calais, and there expect the next news; but that his Majesty's sickness having passed so soon, I confessed I had not thought of his coming over. We talked of the King's recovery, what stay his Highness would make, which he said should be as the King pleased, for he would obey him in every thing.

I gave the Duke a short account of affairs here, as they had passed since the constitution of the council; of the mischiefs had been occasioned by the Lord Shaftesbury's having been brought in so much against my will; of his measures with the Duke of Monmouth; of the three Lords having absolutely broken from him; of the credit they were grown into with the King; and of my confidence, they would never fall into any measures against his Highness: upon which chapter I said a great deal that I thought necessary to make Lord Essex and Hallifax's court, which I was very glad to see so well received by the Duke: for, as to Lord Sunderland, I had little reason to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the Court in the whole course of his life. For myself, I only said at last, that, because I did not know what our present dis-

tempers might end in if the next Parliament should prove of the same humour with the two last, nor what measures his Highness would fall into about staying or going away again; I would only say, that, let whatever would befal the King's affairs or his Highness's, he might always reckon upon me as a legal man, and one that would always follow the Crown as became me; nor could any thing make the least scruple in this resolution, unless things should ever grow so desperate, as to bring in foreigners, which (if ever it should be) would be a new case, and that I knew not what to think of. Upon this the Duke laid his hand upon mine, and bid me keep there, and said, that he would ask no more of me or any man: and so I parted, after a long and very gracious audience, and came home that night, having missed my Lord Hallifax and Essex in the afternoon at Lord Sunderland's, where we had appointed to meet, and I came, but they failed; and Lord Sunderland and I talked deep into nothing, reserving ourselves, as I thought, till the others came.

I stayed at home, making the reflections I could not avoid upon the carriage of my friends; till within a few days I heard the news of the Duke of Monmouth's disgrace; which, though it came by some degrees, yet they were so sudden one after another, as to make it appear a lost game in the King's favour and resolutions. Though nothing could seem more reasonable than that which it ended in, that, while the Duke was abroad, the Duke of Monmouth should be so too; having made his pretensions so evident, and pursued them so much to the prejudice of the King's affairs; however, I could not but wonder, how the Duke had been able in so few days, or rather hours, to get so great a victory. I went within a day or two to London, found my Lord Hallifax in physic, but saw

plainly his distemper was not what he called it; his head looked very full, but very unquiet; and when we were left alone, all our talk was by snatches; sickness, ill humour, hate of town and business, ridiculousness of human life; and whenever I turned any thing to the present affairs after our usual manner, nothing but action of hands or eyes, wonder, and signs of trouble, and then silence.

I came home, and satisfied enough upon what terms I was with my friends, though I knew not whence it came, or whither it went. But I soon found out the whole secret; which was, that, upon the King's first illness, the Lords Essex and Hallifax, being about him, thought his danger great, and their own so too; and that, if any thing happened to the King's life, the Duke of Monmouth would be at the head of the nation, in opposition to the Duke, upon pretence of popery, and in conjunction with Lord Shaftesbury, who had threatened to have their heads upon prorogation of the last Parliament; which threat was applied by Lords Essex and Hallifax to themselves; reckoning Lord Sunderland out of danger by his relation to Lord Shaftesbury, and the fair terms that had always made between them. This fright had so affected these Lords, that, not staying to see what the King's second fit would be, they proposed to the King the sending immediately for the Duke; which being resolved, and the dispatch made with all the secrecy and speed imaginable, the Duke came over; but finding the King recovered, it was agreed to pass for a journey wholly of his own, and that it should be received by his Majesty and the three Lords with all signs of surprise. When this was done, they found the Duke of Monmouth so enraged at this counsel, as well as Lord Shaftesbury, that they saw no way but to ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the King's affairs, and joining themselves

wholly with the Duke's interest; which they did for that time, till they had brought about all his Highness desired for his security against the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury; the first going over into Holland, and the other being turned out of the council.

For my own part, though I was glad of any mortification that happened to the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury, whose designs had run the kingdom into such incurable divisions and distractions, at a time that our union was so necessary to the affairs of Christendom abroad; yet I was spited to the heart at the carriage of my friends towards me in this affair; and not so much for their taking such a resolution without my knowledge and concert (which they never had done since our first commerce), as for keeping me ignorant after the Duke's coming over; and so far, as to let me make such a figure as I did, in doing all the good offices, and making all the court I could to the Duke, for Lords Essex and Hallifax, as I told them I would do; while they were both in the depth and secret of his interests and counsels; and I, who had reason to think myself well with his Highness, was left wholly out of all confidence both with him and with them. But I had reason to resent it yet further, when I found that some of them, perceiving the Duke much unsatisfied with the constitution of the new council, had, to make their own court, laid the whole load of it upon me; whereas, if my Lord Chancellor, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Essex had not fallen into it with the greatest applauses and endeavours in the world to finish the draught of it, the thing had certainly died; and for my own part, after I could not hinder my Lord Shaftesbury's being brought in, I would have been very well content it should.

I could not but tell my Lord Sunderland of these

resentments; and that I found myself so unfit for Courts, that I was resolved to pass the rest of my life in my own domestique, without troubling myself further about any public affairs, than not to appear sullen in not coming sometimes to general councils; and that Lord Essex and Hallifax's carriage to me had been such, after having been the two men of England I had it in my power and my fortunes most to oblige, that I would never have any thing more to do with them. This I said only to one person more; and how it came to be known by their two Lordships, I cannot tell; but there all commerce between us ended, further than what was common when we met at council, or in third places; though Lord Hallifax came to an *eclaircissement* with me the spring after, which ended very well, and I did him the service I could upon occasion in the late House, as well as in council, upon their heats against him.

I passed the rest of the summer at home, and left the three Lords in the chief ministry and sole confidence, as outwardly appeared, both with the King and Duke: and Lord Essex told my brother Sir John Temple, who was then here, that he had more credit with the King than all the rest of the Ministers, or any man in England: but the refined courtiers, who observe countenances and motions, had no opinion of it: and, soon after, Lord Essex and Hallifax, upon the private examination of an intrigue I could never make any thing of, nor thought worth my enquiry, which was commonly called the Meal-tub Plot, took such a distaste at finding themselves mentioned in it, and yet left out of the secret examinations about it, that the Duke was no sooner gone, but their discontents grew open against the Court; my Lord Essex left the Treasury; Lord Hallifax, in discourse to me, commended him for it, and told me his resolution to go

down into the country; and though he could not plant melons as I did, being in the North, yet he would plant carrots and cucumbers, rather than trouble himself any more about public affairs; and accordingly he went down to Rufford. To their nearer friends I heard they complained, that they found they had no sound part in the King's confidence or the Duke's; that they were but other mens dupes, and did other mens work; and that, finding no measures would be taken for satisfying and uniting the kingdom, they would have no more part in public affairs.

Upon Lord Essex's leaving the Treasury, Mr. * Hyde came of course to be First Commissioner; and he and Mr. † Godolphin were brought into the council; where I met them the next time I came, and welcomed them, as two persons that had always been my friends, and agreed with me in all my opinions and measures about affairs abroad, wherein only we had been conversant in our commerce, either at Nimeguen, the Hague, or at home. These two joined in confidence with Lord Sunderland; and the other two Lords being in discontent or absent, and I keeping at home both upon my resolution and inclination, these three were esteemed to be alone in the secret and management of the King's affairs, and looked upon as the Ministry.

October came on, wherein the Parliament was to meet. The Duke was in Flanders: the Duke of Monmouth in Holland: Lord Shaftesbury endeavoured to inflame the reckoning of the late conduct and counsels against the sitting of the Parliament, and to set afoot petitions in case they did not sit: the Ministers were not able to stand

* Afterwards Earl of Rochester.

† Afterwards Earl of Godolphin.

the opening of the Parliament; and so a short prorogation was expected some days before that appointed for their assembly. I had not been at Court or Council in a month or six weeks; when, being recovered of a fit of the gout, I came to town, and went to Lord Sunderland, talked to him of my several arrears in the Treasury, desired his help, which he promised with great kindness, and went with me to the King, where we proposed and agreed the way of my satisfaction. The King seemed very kind to me, but neither one or the other of them said a word to me of any public business. From the King's chamber we went to the council, where I expected nothing but such common things as I knew had passed for a good while before; and so all passed, till I thought the council was ending, when the King after a little pause told us, that upon many considerations, which he could not at present acquaint us with, he found it necessary to make a longer prorogation than he had intended of the Parliament: that he had considered all the consequences, so far as to be absolutely resolved, and not to hear any thing that should be said against it: that he would have it prorogued till that time twelvemonth; and charged my Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly.

All at council were stunned at this surprising resolution, and the way of proposing it, except those few that were in the secret; and they thought fit to be silent, and leave the thing wholly upon his Majesty: several others rose up, and would have entered into the reasonings and consequences of it, but the King would not hear them, and so all debate ended. After which I rose, and told the King, that as to the resolution he had taken, I would say nothing, because he was resolved to hear no reasoning upon it; therefore I would only presume to offer him my humble advice as to the

course of his future proceedings; which was, that his Majesty in his affairs would please to make use of some council or other, and allow freedom to their debates and advices; after hearing which, his Majesty might yet resolve as he pleased: that if he did not think the persons or number of this present council suited with his affairs, it was in his power to dissolve them, and constitute another of twenty, of ten, or of five, or any number he pleased, and to alter them again when he would; but to make counsellors that should not counsel, I doubted whether it were in his Majesty's power or no, because it implied a contradiction; and, so far as I had observed either of former ages or the present, I questioned whether it was a thing had been practised in England by his Majesty's predecessors, or were so now by any of the present Princes of Christendom: and therefore I humbly advised him to constitute some such council as he would think fit to make use of in the digestion of his great and public affairs.

His Majesty heard me very graciously, and seemed not at all displeased with any thing I had said; nor any other person of the Lords of the Council, but most very much to approve it: yet, after the council was up, my Lord Sunderland came to me, told me, he was never so surprised as at what I had said, and expected it sooner from any man in England than me: that whatever resolutions had been taken about my business in the Treasury, he was sure nothing should be done. I replied, that, if he liked not what I said, he should have prevented it, by telling me, before I came to council, what was intended to be done; which if I had known, I would not have been there, no more than I had been so long before: and that, if my debt would not be paid, I must live the best I could without it.

Not long before, the Prince of Orange writ me word, how much he found the Duke unsatisfied with me, upon the belief that it was I had given the Prince those impressions and sentiments which he had upon the common affairs of Christendom; whereas, he could say on the contrary, that it was he had given me mine, and should never change his own till he were convinced *d'avoir tort* [of being in the wrong]: however, that he thought fit, out of friendship to me, to give me this advice.

I was now in a posture to be admirably pleased with having no part in public affairs: the Duke unsatisfied with me of late; the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury from the very first; Lord Essex and Hallifax out of all commerce with me upon what had passed; great civility from the other Ministers, but no communication; and the King himself, though very gracious, yet very reserved. Upon all this, and the melancholy prospect of our distractions at home, and thereupon the disasters threatening abroad: but chiefly upon my own native humour, born for a private life, and particular conversation or general leisure; I resolved to give over all part in public affairs, and came no more either to Court or Council in a month's time, which I spent chiefly in the country.

In this time the Lord Russel, Lord * Cavendish, Sir H. Capel, and Mr. Powle, distasted at the late prorogation, as well as at the manner of it, and pretending to despair of being able to serve the King any longer, in a conduct of affairs so disagreeable to the general humour of the people, went to the King together, and desired his Majesty to excuse their attendance any more upon him at council, which the King very easily consented to. Lord Salisbury, Lord Essex, and Lord Hallifax seemed

* Afterwards Duke of Devonshire.

to have taken the same resolution, though not in so much form. Upon which I thought it might be a great prejudice to his Majesty's affairs, to be left by so many at once: and that, if I wholly gave over at the same time, it would look like entering into a faction with persons who were only displeased with the present scene upon hopes of entering soon upon another, which was no part of my thoughts or designs. Therefore I resolved to go again to council, to shew I had not herded with those that had left it; and that my leaving it too might not occasion some mens greater distastes at the government.

In the intermission I had made, my wife, continuing her commerce with my Lady Sunderland, had met my Lord there; who, taking no notice of what had passed between us, asked her how I had proceeded in my business of the Treasury, and whether I needed his help, which he offered with great friendliness if I had occasion. When I came up to town, and went the first time to council; after it was done, I went to Lord Sunderland, told him what regards towards his Majesty had made me come up, and gave him thanks for his offers to my wife: I found him returned to his first temper towards me; entered into common affairs, but always with professions of my resolutions to retire, and my thoughts of a journey into Italy, which I had long promised the Great Duke. I lived on with my Lord Sunderland in all kindness, though not confidence, which was now wholly between him, and Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Godolphin. I made use of his offers, and by his help came to an issue in the most difficult point of my business in the Treasury.

The second time I was at council, after my return from Sheen, my Lord Sunderland told me he was to say something to me from the King, and desired we might meet after council was up. I went

to his lodgings, where he told me that Mr. Secretary Coventry being absolutely resolved to part with his place, and the King, having found I had long declined it, had now thoughts of consenting to Sir Lionel Jenkins's coming into it upon a bargain with the Secretary; but that the King would do nothing in it without first letting me know his thoughts; and asked whether I had any thing to say upon it. I made no stop in the world, but told his Lordship that the King could do nothing for me that I would take kinder than this; that I had several times pressed his Majesty to a new choice, and once offered to name some to him that I knew were fit for it; that I had resolved against it so long, that his Majesty had no reason to remember any of his engagements to me, how voluntary soever; but, that he was pleased to do it, was the most obliging in the world; and I was resolved immediately to go and make him my acknowledgments. I did so; they were extremely well taken, the King used me with great kindness, and Sir Lionel Jenkins came into the office.

I passed the winter in town, though with much indisposition; going sometimes to the council, and sometimes to the foreign committee, but not frequently to either, and meddling very little with any thing that passed there; unless it was what concerned the affairs of Ireland, which happened to be then hot upon the anvil; the Duke of Ormond and council of that kingdom having transmitted several acts over to the council here, both of grace and supplies, in order to a Parliament to be held in Ireland. This brought Lord Essex again into play, after so much discontent and so little attendance for several months at council: but his eye and heart had ever been bent upon his return to the government of Ireland; which made him

steer all by that compass, and pursue Court or popular humour, as he thought either likeliest to further that end. Whenever the Irish acts came into council, he was sure to be there; first raising twenty difficulties in the particular acts, and arraigning not only the prudence but common sense of the Lord-Lieutenant and council there: then arguing against the assembling a Parliament in that kingdom; and at last introducing Sir James Sheen to make proposals of increasing the King's revenue there near eighty thousand pounds a year, upon a new farm to himself and the company he offered to be joined with him: a farm indeed, as it was drawn up, not of the revenue, but of the crown of Ireland.

This scheme was ever supported by Lord Essex, and ever opposed by me with more sharpness than was usual to me upon any debates; because I had found out the cheat of the whole thing, which Lord Essex had set on foot as a great master-piece of that cunning, which his friends used to say was his talent, and was one for which of all other talents I had ever the greatest aversion. The short of this story was, Lord Essex had a mind to be Lieutenant of Ireland, and to hinder any Parliament being called till he came to the government. He saw himself out at Court; and the hopes of getting in by his interest in Parliament, now delayed by the prorogation longer than he could stay: he projects this farm with Sir James Sheen, and by him offers it to Mr. Hyde, with the advantages mentioned to the King's revenue; but agrees with Sir James, that, if the bait were swallowed, he should, upon the conclusion of all, declare that he and his company were ready to perform all the conditions agreed on; but could not do it unless my Lord Essex might be sent over Lieutenant of

Ireland; without which the condition of that kingdom could never be settled enough for such advantages to the King's service and revenue.

This I knew under secrecy from a confident of Sir James Sheen, who had told himself this whole project, and the paces intended.

Mr. Hyde, who was at the head of all matters concerning the King's revenue, had received this new proposal, and embraced it very warmly; whether prevailed upon by the specious show of so great increases in the revenue, or by some new measures growing between him and Lord Essex in other affairs, I never could determine; but such a patronage at council gave strength to the debates, being little opposed but by Sir Lionel Jenkins and me, who laid the matter so bare, that it drew out into length that whole spring; and the King joined wholly with me in the opinion of the thing, and so far, that when it was come to council or committee, his Majesty sent particularly to me to be there.

In the midst of these agitations, the Duke came over out of Flanders, and resolution was taken for his going into Scotland. I was extremely concerned for the Duke of Ormond, who had fallen into danger of the consequences threatened by these intrigues and pursuits, after the most sensible blow that could be given him, by the death of his * son; and was both of an age and merits to expect no more reverses of fortune, after so many as he had run through in the course of his loyalty. I saw Mr. Hyde violently bent upon Sir James Sheen's imaginary project, and, I doubted, with some pique to the Duke of Ormond, and partiality to Lord Essex. The King seemed to grow weary of so much pursuit; and Lord Sunderland was indiffer-

* The Earl of Ossory.

ent in the thing: so that I resolved to try if I could not engage the Duke to support the Duke of Ormond; and the second time I was with his Highness, after his coming to Court, I fell into this whole business and the consequences of it, and laid open the secret of the thing. The Duke seemed very favourable to Lord Essex, and more indifferent to the Duke of Ormond, than I expected; which made me fall very freely into the character of them both, which the Duke seemed at last to allow with the distinction they deserved, and professed to desire the Duke of Ormond should be continued; though, if he were removed at any time, he still seemed to think Lord Essex the fittest to succeed him. But I found, some days after, by Sir Lionel Jenkins, that his Highness had been very glad to find me so fixed in that business to the Duke of Ormond, and that he would give him what support he could.

Upon the motions of this affair, I grew into more attendance upon his Majesty, and more commerce both with Lord Sunderland and Mr. Hyde; with whom I always lived very well, though we differed so much in opinion upon this Irish business. But continuing still my resolutions of winding myself out of all public business; and to that end talking often to them of my design to make a journey to Florence, both upon occasion of my health and promise; they both proposed to me, if I had a mind to go into a hot country, to go into Spain, and do it with a character from the King, who was likely to have affairs there; rather than make a journey like young gentlemen, only to see the country. I told them how unwilling I was to charge myself again with the ceremonies and fatigue of an embassy; or to run again the hazard I had done so often already, of being undone by those employments: that, if I could resolve on it, I did not see

what affairs the King could have in Spain, whilst he had such as he seemed to have at present in England; nor could I see what use any leagues or measures abroad could be to him, unless some union at home would enable him to support them. This conversation, however, was often renewed between us; and at last, I found out, that to prepare for a good session of Parliament next winter, the Ministers were resolved upon all measures that might conduce towards it during the summer; and, as one of the chief, were resolved to send Ministers to Spain, Denmark, and other of the confederates, and enter with them into the strictest measures for the common defence against the power of France.

I found the Ministers were mighty earnest to engage me in this embassy, as believing my charging myself with it would give a general opinion, both at home and abroad, of our sincerity in the thing. The King spoke to me, and seemed very desirous of my undertaking it. I defended myself a good while, having indeed no opinion the thing had a good root, or that the appearance of it would have the effect hoped for, upon the next meeting of Parliament: but at last I brought it to this point, that I would not charge myself with going to make the intended alliance in Spain; but, if the King should think fit to conclude it here with the Spanish Ambassador upon terms of mutual satisfaction, I would be content to go and cultivate it in Spain. This was done by the Ministers; the King declared me his Ambassador-extraordinary at Madrid; I passed my privy-seal, received my equipage, and spent the latter end of the summer in the preparations for my journey, which were in a manner finished about the middle of September; when the King told me, that since the Parliament drew so near, and so much depended upon it of all that concerned him either abroad or at home, he was resolved to have

me stay at least the opening of it, by which we should judge of the further progress.

From what seeds the discontents and violent proceedings of this last session grew, I have told already; but by what motions and degrees they came to such a height is another story, and may have had some roots which I did not discover; but what I observed was this. After the Duke's return into Flanders, he had the King's leave to come over again in some months. The Duke of Monmouth came back out of Holland without leave, and so came not to Court; and thereby seemed to make himself the head of those that were discontented, either with the Duke's return, or the intermission of Parliament. In acting this part he was guided by Lord Shaftesbury, who resolved to blow up the fire as high as he could this summer; so as to make the necessity the greater of the Parliament sitting at the time appointed. And, because boldness looks like strength, to encourage his party with an opinion of both, he engaged several Lords, and among them Lord Russel, to go with him to Westminster-Hall publicly, and there, at the King's Bench, to present the Duke as a recusant. Though the matter had no consequences in the forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the minds of the people, and a strong one upon the passions of all those persons that were so publicly engaged in this bold pace against the Duke, which was breaking all measures with him, and entering into the desperate resolution of either ruining his Highness or themselves: and I found it had a great effect upon the small circle of my acquaintance or observation.

Lord Essex, who had pursued his return to the government of Ireland by engines at Court for six months past, began to let all that business of Sir James Sheen cool, and to reckon upon laying a

surer foundation for that design, from the credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this he began to fall into new commerce with Lord Shaftesbury, who told him in these shameless words, "My Lord, if you will come in to us, never trouble yourself, we will make you Lieutenant of Ireland." The way to this return was to oppose the Duke's stay here upon the several passages he made, but chiefly upon that before the session of Parliament. Lord Hallifax, though he fell not in with Lord Shaftesbury, yet was glad to make fair weather against the Parliament met, by his oppositions to the Duke. Lord Sunderland was struck with the boldness of the Lords presentment in Westminster-Hall, and the consequence of such men being so desperately engaged in an attempt wherein they were like to be seconded by the humour of the nation, upon the alarms of popery; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to support the Duke any longer, but would be forced to separate his interests from him at last: and he believed the King himself was of the same mind. Mr. Godolphin fell into the same thoughts with Lord Sunderland, both of the thing itself, and of the King's mind in it: so as upon the debate in council, concerning the Duke's stay or going back into Scotland before the Parliament met, these four joined absolutely in the reasons and advices for his going away; and though the rest of the council were generally of the contrary opinion, yet the King fell in with these four, and concluded the thing, against the Duke's will and his friends, as I have been told: for during all these transactions I was in the country, with my thoughts and preparations wholly turned upon my Spanish embassy; and I was the willinger to be there, upon the resolution I had long been fixed in, never to enter

into any differences or personal matters between the King and his brother.

The Duke went away, and the Parliament began, with the general knowledge of so many great persons having appeared so publicly against his Highness in Westminster-Hall, and so considerable ones in the Court itself, and at the council-table: those of the first gang fell immediately into the cabals of Lords and Commons who framed the Bill of Exclusion; wherein they were desperately engaged, not only, as they professed, upon opinion of national ends, but likewise upon that of self-preservation, having broken irreparably all measures already with the Duke: the generality of the House of Commons were carried, partly with the plausibleness of the thing, calculated in appearance only against popery, without any private ends as was pretended; and partly with the opinion of the King's resolution to fall into it, upon the observation of such Lords of the Court having engaged so far in sending away the Duke. All the Duke of Monmouth's friends drove it on violently; not doubting he would lie in the Duke's place, though n provision seemed to be made for that in the forms of the draught: and all these circumstances concurring, made so violent a torrent for carrying on this bill, as nothing could resist, or any ways divert; and as it happens upon all occasions, the small opposition, made by two or three men, made the violence the greater.

Besides these general circumstances, there were two more particular and personal, that seemed to me to have great influence upon the House: one was Lord Russel setting himself, almost with affectation, at the head of this affair; who was a person in general repute of an honest worthy gentleman, without tricks or private ambition, and who

was known to venture as great a stake perhaps as any subject of England. The other was Sir William Jones entering upon it so abruptly and so desperately as he did, if I mistake not, the first day he came into the House (at least I have been told so, for I was not there), which was some time after the session began, having been engaged in a disputed election. And this person having the name of the greatest lawyer of England, and commonly of a very wise man; besides this, of a very rich, and of a wary or rather timorous nature; made people generally conclude that the thing was certain and safe, and would at last be agreed on all parts, whatever countenance were made at Court.

The bill passed the House of Commons, and was carried up by Lord Russel to the House of Lords; as I think, for I was not there at the House. But, in the House of Lords, it met with another kind of reception. The King was resolved, and declared against the bill: and though Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Essex, and, as I remember, about fifteen more, were violently for it; yet the rest of the House were firm and positive against it; among whom Lord Hallifax appeared most in the head of all debates; and so it was, after long contest, absolutely thrown out. This enraged the House of Commons; and, having failed of the only thing they seemed to have at heart, made them fall upon persons; engage first in the pursuit of Lord Stafford to the block, upon the score of the plot; and then in addresses, either upon general discontents in the public affairs, or upon common fame against particular men.

During the whole proceedings of this session of Parliament, I played a part very impertinent for a man that had any designs or ambitions about him; but for me who had none (and whose head was fixed either upon my embassy into Spain, or upon my absolute retirement) the only one wherein I could

have satisfied myself. As I never entered into public business by my own choice or pursuit, but always called into it by the King or his Ministers; so I never made the common use of it, by ever asking either money, lands, or honour of his Majesty; though I have been often enough urged to it by my friends, and invited by so great degrees of confidence and favour, as I have stood in with his Majesty both often and long. I never had my heart set upon any thing in public affairs, but the happiness of my country, and greatness of the Crown: and, in order to that, the union of both, by which alone, I thought both could be atchieved. When I fell first into despair of this, I fell first into a distaste of all public affairs; which has been nourished by a course of such accidents and turns of Court, and personal inconstancies or infidelities, as I have related. By what means I came to be so long engaged, as to see this session of Parliament, I have told; but it is not to be told, the vexation and trouble which the course of it gave me. I knew very well, that all the safety of Flanders and Holland depended upon the union of his Majesty with his Parliament, which might enable him to make such a figure in Christendom, as the Crown of England has done, and ought always to do. The Dutch had sent over Monsieur Van Lewen to make both Court and country sensible of this necessity that Christendom was in; and how much all would lie at the mercy of France, from the day they saw the hopes of it fail. The House of Commons met, with such a bent upon what they thought the chief of their home concerns, that the name of any thing foreign would not be allowed among them; nay, the mention of Spanish leagues, alliances with Holland, and measures intended by the King with other confederates, were laughed at, as Court-tricks, and too stale to pass any more.

They fell downright upon a point invincible, which was the Bill of Exclusion; and in default of that, upon heats against the government and the Ministers, not without some glancing at the King. This was returned with heats at Court by those Ministers that were chiefly touched; which were Lord Hallifax, who, by a sudden turn, whereof I know no account, had at the beginning of the session fallen into the open defence of the Duke's interests; and Mr. Hyde, who, by his relation to the Duke, and by his education wholly at Court, was ever reckoned upon, as well as found to be, first in that point. Though I did not find by them, that they thought it would be to much purpose; only they promised to agree with the King upon the draught of some expedients in the case, which Lord Hallifax had charged himself with, and should be charged with to the House of Lords, during the heats of the Commons.

For my own part, so soon as I saw the bent of the House of Commons, the violence with which it was carried, and the distractions it was like to engage the kingdom in, at a time they were so little in season; I gave over first all hopes, and then all thoughts upon so unpleasant a theme. In the business of the bill I never meddled, nor so much as reasoned either in or out of the House; having declared my opinion to the King and his Ministers, that it was to no purpose to oppose it there; nor for the King to take notice of the Commons address upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any bills, or any addresses upon things of that nature, were brought to him from both Houses, he would answer them. By this means I thought the King was sure of his end; for the bill would certainly fall as often as it came into the House of Lords; and, if he should be forced to break the Parliament, it would be better done upon invinci-

not how it could be a fault, more than in a point of manners neither, or the homeliness of expression.

That which completed my resolution of recess from all public business, was to find, as I thought, very plainly, that both parties, who could agree in nothing else, yet did it in this one point, of bringing things to the last extremity. Lord Shaftesbury and his party thought the points of popular discontents and petitions, or at least that of the King's wants, would at last bring the Court to their mercy in one Parliament or other. Those Ministers, who were past all measures with the House of Commons, thought there was no way, but by their heats, to bring the King to a dislike, and thereby to a disuse of Parliaments. And by this likewise the Duke's interest seemed at present only to be secured. So that, where both parties consented in dividing to extremity on each side, no man could think any longer of uniting; nor consequently to see the Crown in such a posture as I had ever wished it, and for our neighbours sakes as well as our own.

I found this yet more evident at the last debates, during my assistance at the foreign committee, concerning the answer his Majesty should return to the repeated addresses of the House of Commons, relating to the Bill of Exclusion. I was of opinion it should be, that, when both Houses agreed upon an address to this purpose, he would give them an answer; but till then would suspend it, and not send a positive answer to one House upon so weighty an occasion, which, for aught he knew, might be contrary to the sense of the other. By this means he would be secure from the necessity of any direct breach with the Commons; since he knew well enough, the Lords would not consent to the address. And, if the Parliament came to be dissolved, it were better for the King it should break

upon differences between the two Houses, than between his Majesty and them. For this would give the nation an opinion, that he was resolved to live without Parliaments hereafter; which might endanger perhaps our peace at home, but would however ruin the hopes of our neighbours abroad, who had no other of defending themselves against France, but by the power of England: that, if this Parliament broke upon disputes or differences between the two Houses, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a third, and agree with some of them, by which alone he could be great and safe both at home and abroad. For it was between the King and his Parliament, as between the mountain and Mahomet, who told the people what miracles he would do when he was at the top of the mountain; and to that purpose he would on such a day call it to him; he did so, but the mountain would not come; whereupon he said, that, if the mountain would not come to Mahomet, he would go to the mountain; for unless they both met, no wonders could be done. The King seemed pleased with all I said, and with the comparison; but those of the committee, that were chief in the private measures taken at this time, were for a positive answer to be given the House of Commons, let them take it how they pleased; and accordingly this was resolved.

However, all these considerations or interests could not move the King to dissolve this Parliament, without calling another at the same time to meet at Oxford in the spring. Whereupon, the heads of the university at Cambridge sent to me, to know whether I intended to stand again for that election: I went to the King to acquaint him with it, and know his pleasure what answer I should return them: he seemed at first indifferent, and bid me do what I would: but when I said I was very

indifferent too, and would do in it what his Majesty liked best; he said, in a manner kind and familiar, that, considering how things stood at this time, he doubted my coming into the House would not be able to do much good; and therefore he thought it as well for me to let it alone; which I said I would do.

When I left the King I went to my Lord Sunderland, and told him what had passed; who took this as the first certain sign of his Majesty's having fixed his resolution, and left off all thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his measures another way, for the supply of his treasures in the ill condition they were in. He knew very well, that, during the last session, the King had always told me, that he was resolved to propose some expedients to the Houses, upon which he had hopes they might agree: that he had ordered Lord Hallifax to draw them up, and had bid me reserve my credit in the House for that occasion: and that, if there were any thoughts of agreeing with the next Parliament, the King, he was sure, would have been glad to have had me in the House. He said upon it, in some passion, that he now gave all for gone, and that he must confess I knew the King better than he had done; and so we parted.

Within few days, employed wholly in my domestic concerns, and in order to the remove I intended, I left the town and went to Sheen: from whence I sent the King word by my son, that I would pass the rest of my life like as good a subject as any he had; but that I would never meddle any more with any public affairs; and desired his Majesty would not be displeased with this resolution. The King very graciously bid him tell me, that he was not angry with me, no not at all.

I had not been above a week at Sheen, when my Lady Northumberland (who lived then at Sion),

came to my closet one morning, and told me, that, the day before, my Lord Sunderland, my Lord Essex's names, and mine, were struck out of the council; which was the first word I heard of any such thing; and upon which I neither made any reflections nor enquiries; though many others seemed much to wonder, and enquired of me what could be the reason of my being joined with the other two Lords, whose proceedings had been very different.

My Lord Sunderland was, during the late session of Parliament, fallen under a great displeasure of his Majesty; and into an outrageous quarrel with Lord Hallifax. The last happened, not only upon their dividing in the businesses of the Parliament and council, but likewise upon Lord Sunderland's entering into new commerce and measures with Lord Shaftesbury; as my Lord Hallifax told me, and which I should not have otherwise known; for, if there were any such commerce, Lord Sunderland had made it a secret to me; as knowing too well the aversion I always had for that Lord, and the whole course of his proceedings in all public affairs. But Lord Sunderland told me another reason of the quarrel between him and Lord Hallifax; which, he said, broke out the same night a debate arose at council concerning an address of the House of Commons against Lord Hallifax, wherein Lord Sunderland had been of opinion, the King should not yield to it. But, after council, Lord Hallifax went to Lord Sunderland's lodgings, where they fell into discourse of what had passed; and Lord Sunderland told him, that though he had given his opinion at council as he thought became him; yet, if such an address should ever be made against himself, he would certainly desire leave of the King to retire, as a thing that would be for his service. Upon this Lord Hallifax fell into such a passion, that he went out of the room, and from that time

they hardly lived in any common civility where they met.

The refiners thought Lord Hallifax, who saw himself topped by Lord Sunderland's credit and station at Court, resolved to make this sudden turn of falling in with the King, upon the point then in debate about the Bill of Exclusion, wherein he found the King steady, and that my Lord Sunderland would lose himself; so that, falling into confidence with the King upon such a turn, he should be alone chief in the Ministry, without competitor. At least the reasoners on this matter could find no other ground for such a change in Lord Hallifax's course, after what he had so long steered, and so lately in having been the chief promoter of the Duke's being sent away to Scotland just before the meeting of the Parliament.

The King's quarrels to my Lord Sunderland, as far as I could observe, were chiefly two: first, his voting in the Lords House for the Bill of Exclusion, not only against the King's mind, but against his express command; which, for a person actually in his service, and in such a post as Secretary of State, seemed something extraordinary. And I remember, when I spoke to him of it, as what the King must resent, and what I was confident he would be steady in, he told me it was too late, for his honour was engaged, and he could not break it. The other was a memorial, sent over by Mr. Sidney, the King's envoy at the Hague, and given him by the Pensioner Fagel, representing the sad consequences abroad, of his Majesty's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the danger of his allies, and of the Protestant religion; and thereupon, though not directly, yet seeming to wish that the King would not break with them, though it were even upon the point of the Bill of Exclusion. This was, as I remember, the substance; for I never

heard a word of it, either before or after its being received at the foreign committee; where I was as much surprised at it as any one there, but had not the same thoughts of its original, as I find some other of the Lords had. For they believed it a thing directed and advised from hence; and, in a word, by Lord Sunderland to Mr. Sidney his uncle, as a matter that would be of weight to induce the King to pass the bill. But besides that, Lord Sunderland protested to me, after council, that he knew nothing of it till he received a copy from Mr. Sidney, who sent the original to the other secretary. I thought he could not understand the King so ill, as to believe, that would be a motive to him to pass the bill, or that it could have any other effect than to anger him at the Dutch, for meddling in a matter that was domestic, not only to the nation, but to the Crown. Besides, I observed the style to be of one that understood little of our constitution, by several expressions in the paper; whereof one was, why the King should not prevent such consequences, when he might do it *par un trait de plume* [by a stroke with a pen]; which shewed, the author thought our acts of Parliament had been passed by the King's signing them.

This, and the whole cast of it, made me believe it certainly came from the Pensioner Fagel; a man of great piety and zeal in his religion, mightily concerned for all he thought would endanger it; and besides, of great warmth and suddenness in pursuing any thought that possessed him. However, the King, as well as some of the committee, believed, this was of my Lord Sunderland's forge; and that many of the heats in the House of Commons had been encouraged and raised to such height by his seeming to favour them; which, they might think, he would not do unless he believed the King would at length comply with them.

These, I suppose, were the reasons of the resolution taken at Court to remove Lord Sunderland, both from the Secretary's office and the Council. What made my Lord Essex be joined with him is a great deal more obvious; having ever since meeting of the Parliament run up in the greatest heights and nearest measures with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury, both in the Bill of Exclusion, and all other matters where he intervened, either in debates of Parliament or of Council; either concerning the bill, or several addresses against Ministers. How I came to be joined with these two Lords, by the King's ordering our names to be struck out of the council-book at the same time, I neither know, nor could ever give any reason, unless it were, what was commonly guessed, of my being a friend of the Prince of Orange, or of my Lord Sunderland, with whom I had a very long acquaintance, and of our families, as well as personal. For the first, I could think it no crime, considering how little that Prince had ever meddled, at least to my knowledge, in any domestic concerns of his Majesty, during all that passed since the first heats in Parliament here, though he had been extreme sensible of the consequences they were like to have upon all his interests, and nearest concerns at home; which were, the preservation of Flanders from the French conquest, and thereby of Holland from falling by sudden treaties into an absolute dependance upon that Crown.

I can give no other reason, unless it were, that as my Lord Salisbury had been struck out some days before, upon his having declared at council, that he would come there no more; so his Majesty and his Ministers might think, that upon my having taken the same resolution as to that, and all public affairs, though signified only in private to his Majesty, and with all the good manners that

could be; yet it would be better for the King's affairs, that I should be known to be put out of the council than to have quitted it of myself.

Nor was this resolution of mine taken in any heat, or rashly, but upon the best considerations and knowledge I had gained, both of the world, and of myself: by which I found, as Sancho did by governing his island, that he was not fit to govern any thing but his sheep: so, by serving long in Courts, or public affairs, I discovered plainly, that I was, at my age, and in the present conjunctures, fit for neither one nor the other.

I considered the world in the present posture of affairs both abroad and at home: I knew very well the great designs of France, whereof the plan was drawn by Cardinal Richelieu, for the conquest of Flanders, and that part of Germany which lies on this side of the Rhine: how, upon this view, he had seized Lorrain, and engaged in a war with Spain: how he practised the Dutch into a treaty for the division of Flanders between them, till the States soon found the false pace they had made by an agreement to share with the lion, who thereupon would be soon master, both of the prey and of them. Hereupon they broke off this confederacy on the sudden, quitted the French in the midst of so great success, and had hereby almost occasioned the ruin of the French army at Tirlemont. I knew by tradition from a noble family, how that Cardinal had sent a private embassy, to endeavour the same measures with King Charles the First, or at least for his being passive in their conquest of Flanders. How that King had refused the first; and, being pressed upon the other, had answered resolutely, and bid him tell the Cardinal, that he would never suffer the conquest of Flanders; and if the French attempted it, he would march himself in person to defend it. Upon this answer, the Cardinal replied to

the gentleman that brought it, *L'a-t'il dit? par Dieu il me le payera bien* [Did he say so? by G—d I'll make him pay dear for it]; and therefore entered immediately into practices with some discontented nobles of Scotland then at Paris; sent over two hundred thousand pistoles to others in that kingdom, and gave thereby a beginning to the first troubles that were raised there. From which time, the business of France has ever been to foment all divisions of England, whose interest they saw would be ever to cross their great design. However, Cardinal Mazarin, after having surmounted his own dangers in France, and the difficulties incident to a minority, pursued the plan left him by his predecessor: and by his measures taken with Cromwell, and the assistance of an immortal body of six thousand brave English, which were by agreement to be continually recruited, he made such a progress in Flanders, that Cromwell soon found the balance turned, and grown too heavy on the French side: whereupon he dispatched a gentleman privately to Madrid, to propose there a change of his treaty with France into one with Spain, by which he would draw his forces over into their service, and make them ten thousand to be continually recruited, upon condition their first action should be to besiege Calais, and, when taken, to put it into his hands. The gentleman sent upon this errand, was past the Pyrenees when he was overtaken by the news of Cromwell's death; whereupon Mazarin, having not only lost his strongest support in Flanders, but observed how that design would never be served by any measures he could take in England, however it should be governed, by the most legal or most usurped powers, he resolved upon a peace with Spain; and made it at the Pyrenees, against the general sense, both of the chief persons in the Court and the army, but particular-

ly against the instances of Monsieur De Turenne, who engaged himself to conquer all that was left of Flanders in two campaigns more: but some domestic reasons prevailed with the Cardinal; besides his age and great infirmities, which ended his life not long after the peace was made.

The present King, left in full peace with all his neighbours, in the flower of his youth, and instructed in the school of so able a Minister, began to pursue the great design, by the three paces most necessary to advance it; which were, the wise management of his revenue, and heaping up a mass of treasure: the increase of his naval force, by building many great ships, and buying others from the Dutch; and by the purchase of Dunkirk in the year 1662, without which he could not have aspired to the conquest of Flanders, or to his greatness at sea; having no other haven upon the Channel: after this, by fomenting on both sides the seeds of dissension between us and the Dutch, which were sprung from other covered roots. He saw us engaged in a war with Holland in 1665, and with such honour and successes, that the Dutch would soon have been forced to a peace, had not France first assisted them at land, against the Bishop of Munster; and then declared war against us, and set out his fleet for assisting the Dutch. This made the war more equally balanced, and thereby last till France, taking advantage at our division, invaded Flanders; and, by a surprise of the unprepared Spaniards, and two campaigns, carried the most considerable frontier places on both sides; as Doway, Lisle, Tournay, on the one side; Charleroy and Aeth, on the other; by which they left the rest of Flanders at the mercy of another campaign. The Dutch were alarmed at these successes of so mighty a neighbour so near their own doors; and we were spited at the French having declared war

against us in favour of Holland, contrary to our expectations; and both together contributed to the peace at Breda in the end of the year 1667, and to our leagues with Holland with the triple alliance in 1668, for defence of the Spanish Netherlands. Upon our peace with Holland, France stopped their career in Flanders, and made overtures of peace with Spain; by the offer of an alternative, either to retain their conquests in Flanders, or else the whole county of Burgundy. We and Holland forced in Spain to accept one of them; and the Spaniards, spited at this hardship upon them from neighbours who, they thought, had as much interest as they to preserve Flanders, chose the worst, which was to leave the frontiers of Flanders in the French hands, on purpose to give us and Holland the greater jealousy of France, and in hopes thereby to engage us all in a war with that Crown. And upon these terms the peace was made at Aix la Chapelle in 1668.

After this, France turned all their counsels to break the measures between us and Holland, which gave a stop to their great design. The Dutch were stanch; but we gave way by the corruption of our Ministers, and the French practices upon the dispositions of our Court; which at length engaged us in a joint war of both Crowns upon Holland in 1672, to the amazement of all men both abroad and at home, and almost to the utter ruin of that State; till the Empire and Spain, roused by the danger of Holland, which must have ended in that of Flanders, and all the German provinces on this side the Rhine, entered boldly into the war, for the assistance of the Dutch; which gave them some breath, and carried the scene of war into Flanders and Germany. At the same time, the discontents of the people and Parliament at the war, and the necessity of declaring it against Spain

as well as Holland, if we continued longer in it, prevailed with the King to make a separate peace with Holland in 1673, and to offer his mediation to all the parties engaged in the war; which ended in the treaty of Nimeguen, and at last in a peace there, concluded in 1678: whereby a frontier was left to the Spanish Netherlands on the Brabant side, by restitution of Aeth and Charleroy, to satisfy the Dutch; but all that remained on the side of Flanders, after the peace of Aix, as Cambray, Air, St. Omer, with many others taken by France in the last war, were by this treaty left in their possession; besides great pretences by dependencies, both in Flanders and Alsace; so as Flanders was left at their mercy, whenever we or Holland should abandon its defence. And finding both nations in general but too sensible of our interest on that side, the councils of France began new practices upon our Court, wherein they were encouraged by our factions, and the necessities of money, into which they had drawn the King.

These were the progresses which France had made in their great design, by two wars, and two general treaties of peace; whereof that at Nimeguen seemed more victorious than their arms had been. But they had made another, yet more important than either, by their practices upon the Elector and Chapter of Cologne, having gained the majority of voices there for the succession of Prince William of Furstemburg to that principality, whenever the present Elector should fail, who is old and infirm, and has, for some years past, deceived the world by living so long. Prince William, though a German, yet having long devoted himself to the French interests, and been refuged and supported by that Crown against the indignation and revenge of the Emperor, is as much a Frenchman as any bishop of that kingdom; so as,

whenever he comes to the Electorate, France will be absolute master of that principality; and thereby cast shackles, not only upon the other Princes of the Rhine, but upon Holland too, both by cutting off their trade upon the Rhine, and by bordering upon their inland provinces, which are most exposed and hard to be defended: it is said he is likewise assured of the Chapter of Liege, in favour of the same Prince; which if true, and this principality fall likewise under the same dominion, upon the death of the present Elector, France will then surround the frontiers of Brabant, and cut off all commerce, or means of defence, between them and Luxemburg; that they will not have above the work of one campaign to draw the net over the rest of Flanders, and reduce all the great cities there; after which, the rest must follow, and thereby Holland be left to take what measures they can with France, and become at best a maritime province to that Crown; though, perhaps, under the name of a free State (for fear of dispeopling their country), but with such dependance as will leave France the use both of their ships and money, upon occasion, in other parts. Whenever this happens, what condition England will be left in, upon such an increase of the French territory and land, as well as naval power, is easy to conjecture; but hard, how it can be prevented, otherwise than by our vigorous conjunction of counsels, as well as interests, with all the late confederates; and by a firm union between the Court and the nation upon one common bottom, both at home and abroad, and chiefly for the preservation of Flanders against the French designs.

I easily discovered how fit a posture we were in to engage in such resolutions. The nation divided into two strong factions with the greatest heats and animosities, and ready to break out into vio-

lence upon the first occasion. The heads on both sides desiring it, as grown past all temper or composure. The King involved in such necessities and disorders of his revenue, as, if he could not hope supplies from Parliaments, would throw him upon seeking them from France; which would end in such measures with that Crown, as would leave them at liberty to pursue their great design by new attempts upon their neighbours; who, without the support of England, must give way either by weak defences or submissive treaties.

Upon the survey of all these circumstances, conjunctures, and dispositions, both at home and abroad, I concluded in cold blood, that I could be of no further use or service to the King my Master and my country, whose true interests I always thought were the same, and would be both in danger when they came to be divided, and for that reason had ever endeavoured the uniting them; and had compassed it, if the passions of some few men had not lain fatally in the way, so as to raise difficulties that I saw plainly were never to be surmounted. Therefore, upon the whole, I took that firm resolution, in the end of the year 1680, and the interval between the Westminster and Oxford Parliaments, never to charge myself more with any public employments; but retiring wholly to a private life, in that posture take my fortune with my country, whatever it should prove: which as no man can judge, in the variety of accidents that attend human affairs, and the chances of every day, to which the greatest lives as well as actions are subject; so I shall not trouble myself so much as to conjecture: *fata viam inveniant.*

Besides all these public circumstances, I considered myself in my own humour, temper, and dispositions, which a man may disguise to others, though very hardly, but cannot to himself. I had

learned by living long in Courts and public affairs, that I was fit to live no longer in either. I found the arts of a Court were contrary to the frankness and openness of my nature; and the constraints of public business too great for the liberty of my humour and my life. The common and proper ends of both are the advancement of men's fortunes; and that I never minded, having as much as I needed, and, which is more, as I desired. The talent of gaining riches I ever despised, as observing it to belong to the most despisable men in other kinds: and I had the occasions of it so often in my way, if I would have made use of them, that I grew to disdain them, as a man does meat that he has always before him. Therefore, I never could go to service for nothing but wages, nor endure to be fettered in business when I thought it was to no purpose. I knew very well the arts of a Court are, to talk the present language, to serve the present turn, and to follow the present humour of the Prince, whatever it is: of all these I found myself so incapable, that I could not talk a language I did not mean, nor serve a turn I did not like, nor follow any man's humour wholly against my own. Besides, I have had, in twenty years experience, enough of the uncertainty of Princes, the caprices of fortune, the corruption of Ministers, the violence of factions, the unsteadiness of counsels, and the infidelity of friends; nor do I think the rest of my life enough to make any new experiments.

For the ease of my own life, if I know myself, it will be infinitely more in the retired, than it has been in the busy scene: for no good man can, with any satisfaction, take part in the divisions of his country, that knows and considers, as I do, what they have cost Athens, Rome, Constantinople, Florence, Germany, France, and England: nor can the wisest man foresee how ours will end, or

what they are like to cost the rest of Christendom as well as ourselves. I never had but two aims in public affairs; one, to see the King great as he may be by the hearts of his people, without which I know not how he can be great by the constitutions of this kingdom: the other, in case our factions must last, yet to see a revenue established for the constant maintaining a fleet of fifty men of war, at sea or in harbour, and the seamen in constant pay; which would be at least our safety from abroad, and make the Crown still considered in any foreign alliances, whether the King and his Parliaments should agree or not in undertaking any great or national war. And such an establishment I was in hopes the last Parliament at Westminster might have agreed in with the King, by adding so much of a new fund to three hundred thousand pounds a-year out of the present customs. But these have both failed, and I am content to have failed with them.

And so I take leave of all those airy visions which have so long busied my head about mending the world; and, at the same time, of all those shining toys or follies that employ the thoughts of busy men: and shall turn mine wholly to mend myself; and, as far as consists with a private condition, still pursuing that old and excellent counsel of Pythagoras, that we are, with all the cares and endeavours of our lives, to avoid diseases in the body, perturbations in the mind, luxury in diet, factions in the House, and seditions in the State.

THE

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

THE PIECES REFERRED TO IN THESE MEMOIRS.

A Declaration relating to the Establishment of the new Privy-Council, mentioned page 511.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 21st April, 1679:

PRESENT,

The KING'S Most Excellent MAJESTY in Council.

HIS Majesty having caused the Privy-Council to meet yesterday extraordinary, was then pleased to order the Lord Chancellor of England to read to them the following Declaration:—

MY LORDS,

HIS Majesty hath called you together, at this time, to communicate to you a resolution he hath taken in a matter of great importance to his Crown and Government; and which, he hopes, will prove of the greatest satisfaction and advantage to his kingdoms in all affairs hereafter, both at home and abroad; and therefore he doubts not of your approbation, however you may seem concerned in it.

In the first place, his Majesty gives you all thanks for your service to him here, and for all the good advices you have given him; which might have been more frequent, if the great number of this council had not made it unfit for the secrecy and dispatch that are necessary in many great affairs. This forced him to use a smaller number of you in a foreign committee, and sometimes the advices of some few among them (upon such occasions) for many years past. He is sorry for the ill success he

has found in this course, and sensible of the ill posture of affairs from that and some unhappy accidents, which have raised great jealousies and dissatisfaction among his good subjects; and thereby left the Crown and Government in a condition too weak for those dangers we have reason to fear, both at home and abroad.

These, his Majesty hopes, may be yet prevented by a course of wise and steady counsels for the future; and these kingdoms grow again to make such a figure as they have formerly done in the world; and as they may always do, if our union and conduct were equal to our force. To this end, he hath resolved to lay aside the use he may have hitherto made of any single Ministry or private advices, or foreign committees, for the general direction of his affairs: and to constitute such a Privy-Council, as may not only, by its number, be fit for the consultation and digestion of all business, both domestic and foreign, but also by the choice of them, out of the several parts this State is composed of, may be the best informed in the true constitutions of it, and thereby the most able to counsel him in all the affairs and interests of this Crown and nation. And, by the constant advice of such a council, his Majesty is resolved hereafter to govern his kingdoms; together with the frequent use of his great council of Parliament, which he takes to be the true ancient constitution of this State and Government.

Now, for the greater dignity of this council, his Majesty resolves their constant number shall be limited to thirty; and, for their greater authority, there shall be fifteen of his chief officers, who shall be privy-counsellors by their places; and, for the other fifteen, he will choose ten out of the several ranks of the nobility, and five commoners of the realm, whose known abilities, interests, and esteem in the nation, shall render them without suspicion of either mistaking or betraying the true interest of the kingdom, and consequently of advising him ill.

In the first place, therefore, and to take care of the church, his Majesty will have the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London for the time being. And, to inform him well in what concerns the laws, the Lord Chancellor, and one of the Lord Chief Justices. For the navy and stores (wherein consists the chief strength and safety of the kingdom), the Admiral and Master of the Ordnance. For the treasury, the Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer (or whenever any of these charges are in commission, then the First Commissioner to serve here in their room): the rest of the fifteen shall be the Lord Privy-Seal, the Master of the Horse, Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain of his Household, the Groom of the Stole, and the two Secretaries of State: and these shall be all the offices of his kingdom to which the dignity of a Privy-Counsellor shall be an-

nexed. The others his Majesty has resolved, and hopes he has not chosen ill. His Majesty intends, besides, to have such Princes of his blood, as he shall at any time call to this board, being here in Court: a President of the Council, whenever he shall find it necessary: and the Secretary of Scotland, when any such shall be here. But these being uncertain, he reckons not of the constant number of thirty, which shall never be exceeded.

To make way for this new council, his Majesty hath now resolved to dissolve this old one; and does hereby dissolve it, and from this time excuses your further attendance here: but with his repeated thanks for your service hitherto, and with the assurance of his satisfaction in you, so far that he should not have parted with you, but to make way for this new constitution, which he takes to be, as to the number and choice, the most proper and necessary for the uses he intends them. And as most of you have offices in his service, and all of you particular shares in his favour and good opinion, so he desires you will continue to exercise and deserve them, with the same diligence and good affections that you have hitherto done; and with confidence of his Majesty's kindness to you, and of those testimonies you shall receive of it upon other occasions.

Therefore, upon the present dissolution of this council, his Majesty appoints and commands all those officers he hath named, to attend him here to-morrow, at nine in the morning, as his Privy-Council; together with those other persons he designs to make up the number, and to each of whom he has already signed particular letters to that purpose; and commands the Lord Chancellor to see them issued out accordingly; which is the form he intends to use, and that hereafter they shall be signed in council, so that nothing may be done unadvisedly in the choice of any person to a charge of so great dignity and importance to the kingdom.

And, in pursuance thereof, his Majesty did this day declare, that he had made choice of the several persons hereafter named, to be of his Privy-Council.

His Highness Prince Rupert.
Dr. William Sancroft, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.
Heneage Lord Finch, Lord Chancellor of England.
Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord President of the Council.
Arthur Earl of Anglesea, Lord Privy Seal.
Christopher Duke of Albemarle.
James Duke of Monmouth, Master of the Horse.

Henry Duke of Newcastle.
John Duke of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for Scotland.
James Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of the Household.
Charles Lord Marquis of Winchester.
Henry Lord Marquis of Worcester.
Henry Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.
James Earl of Salisbury.
John Earl of Bridgewater.
Robert Earl of Sunderland, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.
Arthur Earl of Essex, First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury.
John Earl of Bath, Groom of the Stole.
Thomas Lord Viscount Falconberg.
George Lord Viscount Hallifax.
Henry Lord Bishop of London.
John Lord Roberts.
Denzil Lord Hollis.
William Lord Russel.
William Lord Cavendish.
Henry Coventry, Esq. one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.
Sir Francis North, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
Sir Henry Capell, Knight of the Bath, First Commissioner of the Admiralty.
Sir John Ernley, Knt. Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Sir Thomas Chicheley, Knt. Master of the Ordnance.
Sir William Temple, Baronet.
Edward Seymour, Esq.
Henry Powle, Esq.

And his Majesty commanded such of them as were then present to be sworn, and to take their places at the board accordingly.

The Right Honourable Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, who was by his Majesty's special command sworn Lord President of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, took his place at the board accordingly.

His Majesty was this day also pleased to declare, that he intended to make

Sir Henry Capell, Knight of the Bath,
Daniel Finch, Esq;

Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet,
Sir Humphrey Winch, Baronet,
Sir Thomas Meers, Baronet,
Edward Vaughan, Esq;
Edward Hales, Esq;

Commissioners for the execution of the office of Lord High Admiral of England, who shall only attend that business.

His Majesty was also pleased to declare, that he would have all his affairs here debated freely, of what kind soever they were; and therefore absolute secrecy.

His Majesty was also pleased to declare, that he would communicate this alteration of the Council unto both Houses of Parliament in a few words.

THE expedients mentioned by the Author in page 527, and some other parts of these Memoirs, met no success in the House of Commons; who, upon the Bill of Exclusion being thrown out by the Lords, had several other expedients offered them, by some of their own members, but could not fix upon any that were thought sufficient. One expedient was, to have a bill brought in for the association of all his Majesty's Protestant subjects; another was, a bill for the banishment of all considerable Papists out of England; a third, for securing frequent Parliaments. It was likewise proposed, that the Prince of Orange should be joined in the Administration with the Duke, upon his coming to the Crown; with sevreal other schemes, which all proved abortive; so that the House of Commons began to reassume the thoughts of the Bill of Exclusion; to which end they presented an Address, December 15th, 1680. The King's message, in answer to this Address, January 4th, 1680-81, was that which the

Author was commanded to carry to the House, as he tells us, page 553. And, because it may give the reader some light into the affairs and dispositions of those times, the address and the King's answer are here subjoined.

The humble ADDRESS of the House of Commons, presented to his Majesty, in answer to his Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, upon the fifteenth day of December, 1680.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, have taken into our serious consideration your Majesty's gracious Speech to both your Houses of Parliament on the fifteenth of this instant December; and do, with all the grateful sense of faithful subjects, and sincere Protestants, acknowledge your Majesty's great goodness to us, in renewing the assurances you have been pleased to give us of your readiness to concur with us in any means, for the security of the Protestant religion, and your gracious invitation of us to make our desires known to your Majesty.

But, with grief of heart, we cannot but observe, that to these princely offers your Majesty has been advised (by what secret enemies to your Majesty, and your people, we know not) to annex a reservation, which, if insisted on in the instance to which alone it is applicable, will render all your Majesty's other gracious inclinations of no effect or advantage to us. Your Majesty is pleased thus to limit your promise of concurrence in the remedies which shall be proposed, that they may consist with preserving the succession of the Crown in its due and

legal course of descent: and we do humbly inform your Majesty, that no interruption of that descent has been endeavoured by us, except only the descent upon the person of the Duke of York, who, by the wicked instruments of the Church of Rome, has been manifestly perverted to their religion. And we do humbly represent to your Majesty, as the issue of our most deliberate thoughts and consultations, that for the Papists to have their hopes continued, that a Prince of that religion shall succeed in the throne of these kingdoms, is utterly inconsistent with the safety of your Majesty's person, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the prosperity, peace, and welfare of your Protestant subjects.

That your Majesty's sacred life is in continual danger, under the prospect of a Popish successor, is evident, not only from the principles of those devoted to the Church of Rome, which allow that an heretical Prince (and such they term all Protestant Princes) excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, may be destroyed and murdered; but also from the testimonies given, in the prosecution of the horrid Popish plot, against divers traitors attainted for designing to put those horrid principles into practice against your Majesty.

From the expectation of this succession, has the number of Papists in your Majesty's dominions so much increased, within these few years, and so many been prevailed with to desert the true Protestant religion, that they might be prepared for the favours of a Popish Prince, as soon as he should come to the possession of the Crown: and, while the same expectation lasts, many more will be in the same danger of being perverted.

This it is that has hardened the Papists of this kingdom, animated and confederated by their priests and jesuits, to make a common purse, provide arms,

make application to foreign Princes, and solicit their aid, for imposing Popery upon us; and all this even during your Majesty's reign, and while your Majesty's government and the laws were our protection.

It is your Majesty's glory and true interest, to be the head and protector of all Protestants, as well abroad as at home; but, if these hopes remain, what alliances can be made for the advantage of the Protestant religion and interest, which shall give confidence to your Majesty's allies to join so vigorously with your Majesty, as the state of that interest in the world now requires, while they see this Protestant kingdom in so much danger of a Popish successor; by whom, at the present, all their counsels and actions may be eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom (if he should succeed) they are sure to be destroyed?

We have thus humbly laid before your Majesty some of those great dangers and mischiefs which evidently accompany the expectation of a Popish successor: the certain and unspeakable evils which will come upon your Majesty's Protestant subjects and their posterity, if such a Prince should inherit, are more also than we can well enumerate.

Our religion, which is now so dangerously shaken, will then be totally overthrown; nothing will be left, or can be found, to protect or defend it.

The execution of old laws must cease, and it will be in vain to expect new ones. The most sacred obligations of contracts and promises (if any should be given), that shall be judged to be against the interest of the Romish religion, will be violated; as is undeniable, not only from argument and experience elsewhere, but from the sad experience this nation once had on the like occasion.

In the reign of such a Prince the Pope will be acknowledged supreme (though the subjects of this

kingdom have sworn the contrary), and all causes, either as spiritual, or in order to spiritual things, will be brought under his jurisdiction.

The lives, liberties, and estates of all such Protestants as value their souls and their religion more than their secular concernments, will be adjudged forfeited.

To all this we might add, that it appears, in the discovery of the plot, that foreign Princes were invited to assist in securing the Crown to the Duke of York; with arguments from his great zeal to establish Popery, and to extirpate Protestants (whom they call heretics) out of his dominions; and such will expect performance accordingly.

We further humbly beseech your Majesty, in your great wisdom, to consider, whether, in case the Imperial Crown of this Protestant kingdom should descend to the Duke of York, the opposition, which may possibly be made to his possessing it, may not only endanger the further descent in the royal line, but even monarchy itself.

For these reasons, we are most humble petitioners to your most sacred Majesty, that, in tender commiseration of your poor Protestant people, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to depart from the reservation in your said speech; and, when a bill shall be tendered to your Majesty, in a parliamentary way, to disable the Duke of York from inheriting the Crown, your Majesty will give your royal assent thereto; and, as necessary to fortify and defend the same, that your Majesty will likewise be graciously pleased to assent to an act, whereby your Majesty's Protestant subjects may be enabled to associate themselves for the defence of your Majesty's person, the Protestant religion, and the security of your kingdoms.

These requests we are constrained humbly to

make to your Majesty, as of absolute necessity, for the safe and peaceable enjoyment of our religion.

Without these things, the alliances of England will not be valuable, nor the people encouraged to contribute to your Majesty's service.

As some further means for the preservation both of our religion and property, we are humble suitors to your Majesty, that from henceforth such persons only may be judges within the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, as are men of ability, integrity, and known affection to the Protestant religion; and that they may hold both their offices and salaries *Quamdiu se bene gesserint:* That (several deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace, fitly qualified for those employments, having been of late displaced, and others put in their room who are men of arbitrary principles, and countenancers of Papists and Popery), such only may bear the office of a lord-lieutenant as are persons of integrity and known affection to the Protestant religion: That deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace may be also so qualified, and may be moreover men of ability, of estates, and interest in their country:

That none may be employed as military officers, or officers in your Majesty's fleet, but men of known experience, courage, and affection to the Protestant religion.

These our humble requests being obtained, we shall, on our part, be ready to assist your Majesty for the preservation of Tangier, and for putting your Majesty's fleet into such a condition, as it may preserve your Majesty's sovereignty of the seas, and be for the defence of the nation.

If your Majesty hath, or shall make any necessary alliances, for defence of the Protestant religion, and interest and security of this kingdom,

this House will be ready to assist, and stand by your Majesty, in the support of the same.

After this our humble answer to your Majesty's gracious speech, we hope no evil instruments whatsoever shall be able to lessen your Majesty's esteem of that fidelity and affection we bear to your Majesty's service; but that your Majesty will always retain in your royal breast, that favourable opinion of us your loyal Commons; that those other good bills, which we have now under consideration, conducing to the great ends we have before mentioned; as also all laws for the benefit and comfort of your people, which shall, from time to time, be tendered for your Majesty's royal assent, shall find acceptance with your Majesty.

His MAJESTY's gracious message to the Commons in Parliament, January 4, 16$\frac{80}{81}$.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty received the address of this House with all the disposition they could wish to comply with their reasonable desires; but, upon perusing it, he is sorry to see their thoughts so wholly fixed upon the Bill of Exclusion, as to determine that all other remedies for the suppressing of Popery will be ineffectual. His Majesty is confirmed in his opinion against that bill by the judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains nothing more for him to say, in answer to the address of this House, but to recommend to them the consideration of all other means for the preservation of the Protestant religion; in which they have no reason to doubt of his concurrence, whenever they shall be presented to him in a parliamentary way: and that they would consider the present state of the kingdom, as well as the condition of Christendom, in such a manner, as may enable him

to preserve Tangier, and secure his alliances abroad, and the peace and settlement at home.

But this answer of the King's was so far from giving satisfaction, that the same day it was read in the House, after long debate, and a despair of any effectual expedients, the Commons came to the following resolutions.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that there is no security nor safety for the Protestant religion, the King's life, or government of this nation, without passing a bill for disabling James Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of this realm, and dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and to rely upon any other means and remedies, without such a bill, is not only insufficient, but dangerous.

Resolved, That his Majesty in his last message having assured this House of his readiness to concur in all other means for the preservation of the Protestant religion, this House doth declare, That until a bill be likewise passed for excluding the Duke of York, this House cannot give any supply to his Majesty, without danger to his Majesty's person, extreme hazard of the Protestant religion, and unfaithfulness to those by whom this House is intrusted.

These resolutions were followed by votes of addresses against several persons; and the heats still increasing in the House of Commons, the King, three days after, prorogued the Parliament, and the next week dissolved it by proclamation.

Page 549. Sir William Jones was reputed one of the best speakers in the House, and was very zealous in his endeavours for promoting the Bill of Exclusion. He was a person of great piety and virtue; and, having taken an affection to Sir William Temple, was sorry to see him employed in the de-

livery of so unacceptable a message to the House: the substance of what he said to the author upon it was this: that "for himself he was old and infirm, and expected to die soon: but you, said he, will in all probability live to see the whole kingdom lament the consequences of this message you have now brought us from the King."

Page 553. What the author spoke in the House does not only relate to the business of Tangier, but likewise to the Bill of Exclusion, which was then newly thrown out by the Lords. I shewed the speech to the author, who, as far as his memory could serve him, allowed it to be fairly taken. I think it very worthy of the author, though it appears to have been wholly unpremeditate. And since part of it relates to some passages in the Memoirs, it may be convenient to insert it here.

Mr. Speaker,

This debate hath more of weight in it than the business of Tangier. I think, as affairs now stand, the most part of Christendom is concerned in it, I am sure all the Protestants; and therefore I hope your patience will hold out, to have the whole circumstances of it fairly examined: for the arguments that have been offered, in the consideration of this message, have enlarged the debate further than was at first intended, and have brought the whole state of the nation, in some measure, before you, instead of that one particular business of Tangier; so that now what resolve you make will be a discovery of your inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a supply for Tangier, but as to giving money for alliances and all other occasions; upon which result the good or bad success of this Parliament doth depend. As to Tangier, I do agree with that worthy member that spoke before (though many are of a different opi-

nion), that it is not of any great use to us, upon the account of any advantage we shall make by it. But however, I think it is very well worth our keeping, because of the disadvantages we should receive by it, if it should fall into the hands either of the Turk or Spaniard, but especially the French, who will not only be thereby enabled to fetter us as to our trade in the Levant, but to curb also all other nations whatsoever; and be such an addition to the too great power he hath acquired both by sea and land already, that I am of opinion we ought to be very cautious how we weaken the security we now have, that it shall not fall into his hands. But if the mole and the town could be blown into the air, or otherwise reduced into its first chaos, I think, considering the charge it will cost keeping, England would not be much the worse for it; but to move you to consider any thing about that, at this time, cannot be proper, because the Moors have so besieged it, that the first thing that must be done, whether in order to keep it or destroy it, is to beat them off, by some speedy supplies which must be presently sent; or else the town, according to the best information come from thence, is like to be lost. And, Sir, I think this single consideration may be persuasive to move you to give some such supply as may be precisely necessary for the defence and protection of this place. A small sum of money, in comparison of what this House hath formerly given, may be sufficient to satisfy his Majesty's expectation, and secure the place too. But I must confess, Sir, it is not the consideration of Tangier that makes me press you to it, but the deplorable state of the Protestants abroad. Sir, I have had the honour to serve his Majesty in some public employments, and by that means may be a little more sensible of the state of affairs, in reference to our neighbours, than others may be;

having not only had the advantage of information, but was under a necessity of using my best endeavours to get a true account of them. Sir, I am confident the eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament; and not only the Protestants abroad, but many Catholic countries (who stand in fear of the power of France), do think themselves as much concerned in the success of this Parliament as this House; and will be as much perplexed to hear any ill news thereof. This, Sir, as well as the necessities of our affairs at home, make me trouble you at this time, to desire you to be careful what you do, that we may not occasion in his Majesty any dislike to this House. Whatever you do as to the business of money for Tangier, I pray, Sir, let there be no notice taken in your address, of the Lords having cast out your bill; for we have no reason to think the King was any ways concerned therein. To throw out a bill of so great importance, without a conference, was, in my humble opinion, very strange, and contrary to the usual proceedings of that House. But pray, Sir, let it lie at their doors that did it; for the King could not be concerned in a parliamentary way. For by this means we may obviate all misunderstandings with his Majesty about this affair; and, I hope, create in him a good opinion of this House, upon which the welfare, not only of this nation, but of Europe, doth much depend.

Sir, his Majesty, in his message, puts you in mind of giving advice, as well as money: I think, if we make that expression the ground of our address, we may naturally graft very good things thereon, especially what may conduce to the preservation of a fair correspondence. Sir, though a King alone cannot save a kingdom, yet a King alone can do very much to ruin it; and, though Parliaments alone cannot save this kingdom, yet Parliaments

alone may do much to ruin it; and therefore we cannot be too circumspect in what we do. It is our fortune to sit here in a critical time, when not only the affairs of this nation, but the Protestant religion abroad, need our continuance; and, for the same reason, we may justly fear that there are those who endeavour to contrive the putting off this Parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any advantage; and then I doubt not but his Majesty's care and goodness will at last overcome all difficulties, and bring this session to a happy conclusion.

END OF VOL. II.

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